











BETHLEHEM.

THROUGH BIBLE LANDS:

NOTES OF TRAVEL

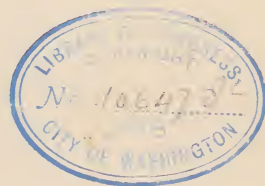
IN

EGYPT, THE DESERT, AND PALESTINE,

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SACRED

TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY DAUGHTER META,

WHOSE LAMENTED DEATH WAS THE OCCASION OF THIS BOOK.

PREFACE.

THESE sketches of Bible Lands for Bible readers have grown out of a series of familiar letters which I wrote from the banks of the Nile, and from the tent in the Wilderness and in Palestine; remembering that those who enjoy the privilege of travelling abroad ought to give to their friends at home the benefit of their experience. In the process of reconstruction the letters have grown into chapters and lost somewhat the freshness of first impressions, but gained, I trust, in solidity and instructiveness. Bible Lands, like the Bible itself, are of such universal and such perennial interest that they will continually demand new books and new comments.

The object of the book is to give the general reader a clear idea of the actual condition and prospects of the East by a simple narrative of what I saw and heard and felt on the spot. I am not an explorer, like my honored predecessor and friend, Dr. Robinson, whose *Biblical Researches*, though written forty years ago, are still the highest authority in Biblical geography; neither am I gifted with that genius for word-painting which imparts to Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* the charm of a novel. But without entering into learned discussions, I have given the results of the latest investigations as far as I was able to verify them by personal observation. I have also paid much attention to the missionary schools and churches which represent the Orient of the future.

A domestic affliction was the sad occasion for this my first journey to the East. I went with no intention to write a book, but to gain relief, and fresh inspiration for Bible studies. I left New York with my wife and only surviving daughter in December, 1876,

passed rapidly through England, France, and Italy, and spent the winter and spring in Egypt, the Sinaitic Wilderness, Palestine and Syria. I then visited, during the Russian and Turkish war, Cyprus, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Athens, and returned by way of Trieste, Venice, Switzerland, Germany, England, and Scotland, reaching New York again in August, 1877. While in Africa and Asia I enjoyed almost perpetual sunshine. I was reported imprisoned and even massacred in the Great Desert, but not a hair of my head has been hurt. I met kind Christian friends and brethren everywhere. The shadows of death followed me, but the God of Israel went before me in a pillar of cloud by day and in a pillar of fire by night.

I shall ever look back to this eastern journey with pleasure and gratitude, and shall feel abundantly repaid if this unpretending record of my experience will help the reader to a better understanding of the Book of books, and a deeper interest in the revival of true Christianity in the land of its birth.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

NEW YORK, October, 1878.

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THROUGH BIBLE LANDS.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—Egypt—The Desert—Palestine—Mode of Travel in the East—Novelty of Scenes—Practical Use.

DEAR reader, I propose to take you on a flying visit to Bible lands, and to give you in a few leisure hours an outline of what I saw in five months. February is the best season for Egypt, March for the wilderness, April and May for Palestine and Syria, June for Greece and Italy. In Egypt we sail on the Nile and ride on the donkey, in the Desert we use the camel, in Palestine and Syria the horse. But you may do all this on the swift wings of your imagination, while sitting in your easy-chair at home.

The progress of actual travel in the Orient is slow, but not too slow for enjoyment and instruction. A whole day is required for a distance which can be traversed by railway in an hour. The mode of travelling in the Desert, the Holy Land, and in parts of Egypt, is the same as in the days of the patriarchs, more than three

thousand years ago, and that is one of its peculiar charms, which will be broken when modern civilization shall have penetrated the East. We engage a dragoman, who provides the outfit and acts as interpreter between the traveller and the Arab servants. We take with us a caravan of Bedawin, with tents, provision, and cooking apparatus. There are no turnpikes, no carriages, no hotels, except a few in the large cities, kept by Europeans. The Arab inns or khans are forbidding and destitute of all comforts required by civilized people. I spent a night in the convent of Mar Saba, and another in an inn at Jericho, kept by a Greek, but lost my sleep by those unmentionable little creatures with which Beelzebub tries the patience of man.

In the Orient all is primitive and novel to Europeans and Americans. Their first impression is wonderment at the strange sights of men and things which appear to them like a masquerade or fancy-fair gotten up for their special amusement. The Orientals, judged by Western habits, do everything the wrong way: they eat with the fingers; they sit, not on chairs, but cross-legged on the floor or the earth; they keep their women veiled and out of public sight; they write on their knees and from right to left; they take off their shoes in the mosque and keep on their fez or turban. Any scrap of cotton, or linen, or silk of any color, a blanket, a shawl, a sash, a shirt, loosely thrown over the body, serves them as a dress; but they always look picturesque, and have a native courtesy and dignity which contrast favorably with their otherwise degraded and beggarly condition.

Modern civilization is monotonous, it has a tendency to level distinctions and to impress a uniform type upon men of all classes of society; it sets up the dumb idol of fashion which rules supreme over crowned monarchs and republican presidents. In the East there is much more independence and variety; there the Arab, the Turk, the Armenian, the Maronite, the Copt, the Jew, the Nubian, the Bedawin, the dervish, the priest, the official, the merchant, the mechanic, the barber, the dragoman, the donkey-boy, the runner, the singer, the serpent-charmer, the fruit-seller, the water-carrier, the slave, the beggar—all appear in their distinct individuality and costume; each consults his own taste or whim, and is never disturbed by the ever-changing fashions of Paris.

What is the use of travelling in the East? Does it repay for all the time, the money, the fatigue, the vexation and annoyance inseparable from it? The benefit of travel depends upon the disposition and preparation of the traveller. Such preparation is especially necessary in the East. The more knowledge we carry with us, the more we shall bring back. Multitudes of travellers return as ignorant and empty as they start; while others, from the study of books, may become as familiar with foreign nations and countries as with their own. Fortunately it is not necessary for the majority of readers to visit Bible lands in order to understand the Bible, any more than it is to know Greek and Hebrew. Some of the best Biblical scholars and commentators—Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Matthew Henry, Bengel,

Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Meyer, Ewald—never visited the Holy Land. Dean Howson prepared the geographical sections which gave the work on the “Life and Epistles of St. Paul” such a wide popularity, merely from books. Even the founder of the science of comparative geography, Carl Ritter, never saw Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula which he so fully and so accurately described.

But after all it is an inestimable advantage to see with one’s own eyes the birthplaces of the authors of the Sacred Writings, and their surroundings, and to be able to speak from personal observation and experience. Manners and customs are so stationary in the East, that you are transferred as by magic to the age of the apostles, the prophets, and the patriarchs. A flood of light is thrown on the meaning of innumerable passages which appear strange at a distance, but quite natural on the spot. A thoughtful traveller fills his memory with a gallery of photographic pictures more valuable than any number of books. Whenever he reads afterwards of the visits of Abraham, Joseph and Jacob to Egypt, the miracles of Moses, the wanderings of the Israelites, of Hebron, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Dead Sea, the river Jordan, the Lake of Gennesaret, Mount Hermon, the cedars of Lebanon, Jerusalem, Bethany, Gethsemane, and Mount Olivet, the places and scenes rise up before his mental eye with a vividness which they never had before. The ruinous condition of those countries may diminish the poetry, but the impression of the reality is deepened. Palestine has not been inaptly termed “the fifth Gospel.”

It is the framework in which the canonical Gospels are set. I would advise every theological student who can afford it, to complete his Biblical education by a visit to the Holy Land. It will be of more practical use to him in his pulpit labors than the lectures of the professors in Oxford or Cambridge, in Berlin or Leipzig, valuable as these may be. The best thing, of course, is to combine the most thorough theoretical study and personal experience on the spot. A sound and correct historical understanding of the Bible has gained much from the researches of scholarly travellers, and will gain still more in time to come. For the Holy Scriptures have a human body as well as a divine soul; they strike their roots deep in the soil from which they sprang, while their ideas soar to heaven; they are thoroughly oriental, and yet wonderfully adapted for all mankind in all ages of the world.

FIRST PART.

EGYPT.

FIRST PART.

EGYPT.

CHAPTER II.

FROM NEW YORK TO ALEXANDRIA.

Egypt—From New York to Brindisi—Corfu—Crete—
Alexandria.

LET us begin with Egypt, the country of the Nile, the land of pyramids and sphinxes, of temples and tombs, of hieroglyphics and mummies, of sacred bulls and crocodiles, of despotic power and slavish degradation. There the patriarchal family found a hospitable home and grew into a nation; there Joseph rose from slavery into which he was sold by his jealous brothers, to the highest position in the kingdom, and preserved the purity of his faith and character amid surrounding idolatry and corruption; there Moses was born and educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; there he wrought his miracles and became the leader of his people from bondage to freedom, himself a pyramid among the great men of antiquity—held in veneration to this day by the followers of three religions, the Christian, the Jewish, and the Mohammedan. The land of Egypt is imbedded in the

Decalogue as the house of bondage out of which the Lord God brought his people. Egypt gave shelter to the infant Jesus and his parents against the wrath of Herod, and the venerable tree is still shown near Heliopolis under which Mary and Joseph are said to have rested from the fatigue of their journey. In a double sense it is true what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

The chief attraction to the traveller are the ruins of the oldest civilization which are scattered over the valley of the Nile and make it the most wonderful valley in the world. Egypt is a green garden between two deserts, watered by the noblest river, and consecrated by the imperishable memorials of a history of five thousand years. "I shall enlarge upon what concerns Egypt," says Herodotus, the father of history, "because it contains more wonders than any other country, and because there is no other country where we may see so many works which are admirable and beyond all expression."

After a rough winter passage over the stormy Atlantic and the equally disagreeable English channel, we take the railroad at Calais and rapidly pass through Paris, Geneva, the tunnel of Mount Cenis, Turin, Bologna, Florence, Rome and Naples, and then, turning eastward, we reach Brindisi on the southeastern shore of Italy, the starting point for our voyage to the land of the Pharaohs. I congratulate you that in this vicarious mode of travelling you are spared the nasty experience of seasickness and the monotonous prison life on board a crowded ship with its seventy perfumes, "separate, dis-

tinct, and well defined," which I never smelled at Cologne, but on many an ocean steamer. A Frenchman on paying his tribute to Neptune, well remarked, "For *plaisir* I cross the ocean *ne-v-er*!" Sea-sickness is nowhere better described than in the good old Bible when speaking of those who "reel to and fro," who "stagger like a drunken man, abhor all manner of meat, are at their wit's end and draw near unto the gates of death." (Psa. 107.) But we soon get over it when we land, and feel all the better for the process of purification. The passage across the European continent is a succession of pleasures even to an old traveller, and is made doubly agreeable by meeting good friends everywhere.

We leave Brindisi in an Austrian steamer on Friday night, January 26, for Corfu, in good company—mostly English, Scotch, and American. Mr. Thomas Cook, from London, the founder and head of the now famous firm, "Thomas Cook & Son," is with us, hoping to get rid of a troublesome cough in the milder climate of Egypt. He is a plain, self-educated, enterprising and energetic Englishman, now about seventy years of age. He is a member of the Baptist church, and takes great interest in the Baptist missions in Rome and Naples. He has earned the gratitude of many travellers who find it a great convenience to use his tickets, especially in the East.

The weather is threatening and reminds us of the stormy passage of Cæsar from this port, and his stirring words to the timid captain: "Be of good cheer! Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes!"

We arrive on Saturday afternoon in Corfu, (Korkyra,) and breathe the air of Greece, that wonderful little country, which in the intellectual and artistic progress of the world occupies as prominent a position as little Palestine does in the history of religion. Corfu is a beautiful island, with a fine climate and southern vegetation. In 1815 it came into the possession of the English, but in 1864 it was ceded to the kingdom of Greece, together with the other Ionian Islands, Cephalonia and Zante. This generous act is mainly due to the exertions of the Hon. W. E. Gladstone, whose liberal statesmanship and Homeric scholarship made him a friend of New Hellas. The inhabitants, however, with all their Greek patriotism, regret the loss of English sovereigns and commercial prosperity since the annexation. Passing through the street, we are pleasantly entertained by the Greek signs on the houses and shops, and the picturesque costumes of the Greeks, Albanians, and Montenegrins. We find comfortable lodgings in the St. George's Hotel, on the Promenade, opposite the royal castle, look in the London "Times" for the latest news, and enjoy the magnificent view over the sea, the islands, and the mountains of Albania.

On Sunday we attend mass in the Greek church of St. Spiridion, the patron-saint of the Ionian islands, once Bishop of Cyprus, and a member of the council of Nicæa, who even after his consecration remained a rustic shepherd. From fear that he might disgrace the first œcumenical assembly of Christendom by his ignorance, his brother bishops cut off the heads of his two donkeys ; but Spiri-

dion, the legend states, performed the amazing feat of raising the donkeys to life, reached Nicæa in time and voted on the orthodox side and for the condemnation of Arius. We see the worshippers crowd around his silver coffin. To kiss this coffin and the pictures of the Saviour and the Virgin seems to be the chief act of devotion in Corfu. After mass the priest distributes pieces of bread to the people who kiss his hand. This half-communion is a commemoration of the Agape or Love-feast of the primitive church.

From the early Greek service we proceed at eleven o'clock to the English Episcopal chapel, and listen to an indifferent sermonette on natural religion, in which the name of Christ is barely mentioned; while the Greek mass made me at least think of the cross and the atonement. I do not know to which party the officiating clergyman belongs; he may be high and dry, or low and slow; he may be attitudinarian or platitudinarian; but he is certainly neither broad nor deep. It would of course be great injustice to take his dull essay for a fair specimen of the sermons of Anglican chaplains on the continent. I greatly honor the Church of England for her active interest in the spiritual benefit of travellers, and I often enjoy her services. If the sermon is poor, the prayers of the Liturgy are always good and edifying, and I never get tired of the Creed, the Te Deum, and the Gloria in Excelsis.

On Monday morning we sail in the "Hungaria," an Austrian Lloyd steamer, which came from Trieste, for Egypt. We pass the Ionian Islands, Ithaca (not for-

getting faithful Penelope and Ulysses' return), and Crete, which brings vividly to mind the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul. The weather is only tolerable, and some of us fare no better than on the Atlantic. As far as the discomfort of this prison life at sea will permit, we read Paul's Epistle to Titus, the last chapters of Acts, sections from Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine," Murray's "Egypt," Wallace's "Desert and the Holy Land," and Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad."

On Thursday, the 1st of February, we come in sight of Alexandria, and the vision of the Orient flashes over our bewildered eyes.

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDRIA.

The Gate of Egypt—A Babel of Nationalities and Tongues—The Donkey Boys—Old Alexandria—The Column of Pompey, and the Needles of Cleopatra—Modern Alexandria—Through the Delta and to Cairo.

ALEXANDRIA is the gate of Egypt. As soon as we arrive in the harbor we are surrounded by a mob of swarthy and tumultuous Arabs, with a fleet of boats, most anxious to seize the passengers and their baggage. Cook's agent and boatmen, distinguished by red shirts and Cook's flag, take charge of us, and bring us in a short time through the custom-house to the Hotel de l'Europe on the Place of Mohammed Ali.

The sight of Alexandria is a fit introduction to Oriental lands. The Babel of nationalities and tongues, the shouting and fighting of turbaned, bare-legged and bare-footed boatmen and donkey-boys, the picturesque dresses of all shapes and colors, the poverty and wretchedness, the everlasting cry for "backsheesh," which here greets us for the first time—all is novel and exciting. The harbor and street life in Naples present a somewhat similar scene.

The Arab donkey-boys are a characteristic institution of Egypt, and we may as well make their acquaintance at once. They are a jolly, good-natured, quick-

witted and importunate set of vagabonds. They discern the nationality of the traveller in a minute, and pick up the broken fragments of half a dozen tongues, with a decided preference for the English as the most profitable. They recommend their long-eared animals to a German as donkey "Bismarck," to a Frenchman as "Napoleon," or "Thiers," to an Englishman as "Gladstone," or "Tichborne," to an American as "Grant," "Minnehaha," or "Yankee Doodle." "My donkey good donkey;" "My donkey speak English." Nine-tenths of the travellers in the East are English and Americans, and this accounts for the rapid spread of the English language even among the donkey-boys and the Bedawin at the Pyramids. It is fast gaining on the Italian and French, which formerly were the only medium of intercourse, besides the native Arabic, which few foreigners acquire. The language of Shakespeare and Milton is destined to be the cosmopolitan tongue. It carries with it Christian civilization and liberty and the richest literature in the world.

The modern city of Alexandria is of considerable commercial importance, and numbers more than 200,000 inhabitants, including 50,000 Europeans. But the Suez Canal and Port Said have injured its trade.

The city was founded by Alexander the Great, who was buried there. Napoleon said that Alexander showed more genius in the selection of this spot than in his victories, and that this city which could harbor all the navies was destined to be the metropolis of the world. It became the capital of Egypt, the residence of the Ptolemies. It contained in the days of its glory over

half a million of inhabitants. It was the centre of commerce between the East and the West, and the chief seat of heathen, Jewish, and Christian literature, with immense libraries, one of which numbered 400,000 rolls. There the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into the Greek by seventy interpreters, (hence the name, "the Septuagint,") two centuries before the Christian era. There arose the Alexandrian Greek dialect, called the Hellenistic, which, with its Hebrew coloring, became the organ of early Christianity and still lives on the pages of the New Testament. There Philo blended the Mosaic religion with the Platonic philosophy, and dreamed of the Logos who became flesh for our salvation. There St. Mark founded a Christian church, which in the course of time became one of the patriarchal sees, outranking Jerusalem and Antioch, though outranked afterward by Constantinople and Rome. There flourished the first theological seminary, under the name of the Catechetical School, in which Clement and Origen expounded the Scriptures and taught the Christian religion as the last and best system of philosophy, as the true gnosis, in opposition to the falsely so-called gnosis of the Gnostics and New Platonists, who had their headquarters in the same city. There arose, in the fourth century, the Arian heresy; but there also its chief opponent, Athanasius, the "father of orthodoxy," who alone against the world, (*Athanasius versus mundum*,) in his episcopal seat and in exile, in the city and in the desert, defended the eternal deity of our Lord as the corner-stone of the Christian faith and hope.

The founding of the rival city of Constantinople, the violent theological controversies and schisms, the conquest of Omar, the discovery of the sea-passage to India, the misrule of the Turks, are among the chief causes of the gradual decline of Alexandria from a splendid city of half a million to a miserable village of five thousand, surrounded by swamp and desert. The new era of Alexandria dates from the wise and energetic though despotic Mohammed Ali, and the construction of the canal, in 1819, which connected it once more with the Nile and the rest of Egypt, by the forced labor of 250,000 men and at a cost of seven and a half millions of francs.

Of old Alexandria, heathen and Christian, very little remains. It disappeared like the famous library, which the semi-barbarous Kalif Omar burnt. His plea for this act of vandalism was the absolute sufficiency of the Koran, which made every other book either superfluous or injurious. The only monuments of old times are the Catacombs, the miscalled column of Pompey, and the Needles of Cleopatra. The column of Pompey is named, not from the famous Pompey who, after his defeat at Pharsalus, was murdered on the coast of Egypt; but from a Roman prefect, who erected it to the honor of the Emperor Diocletian. It stands on an elevation and is surrounded by rubbish and filth. Close by is a Mohammedan cemetery with innumerable oven-like white tombs, and a little farther off the Catacombs.

The Needles of Cleopatra on the seashore are two obelisks of red granite dating from the time of the Pharaohs. They have nothing to do with that licentious queen who

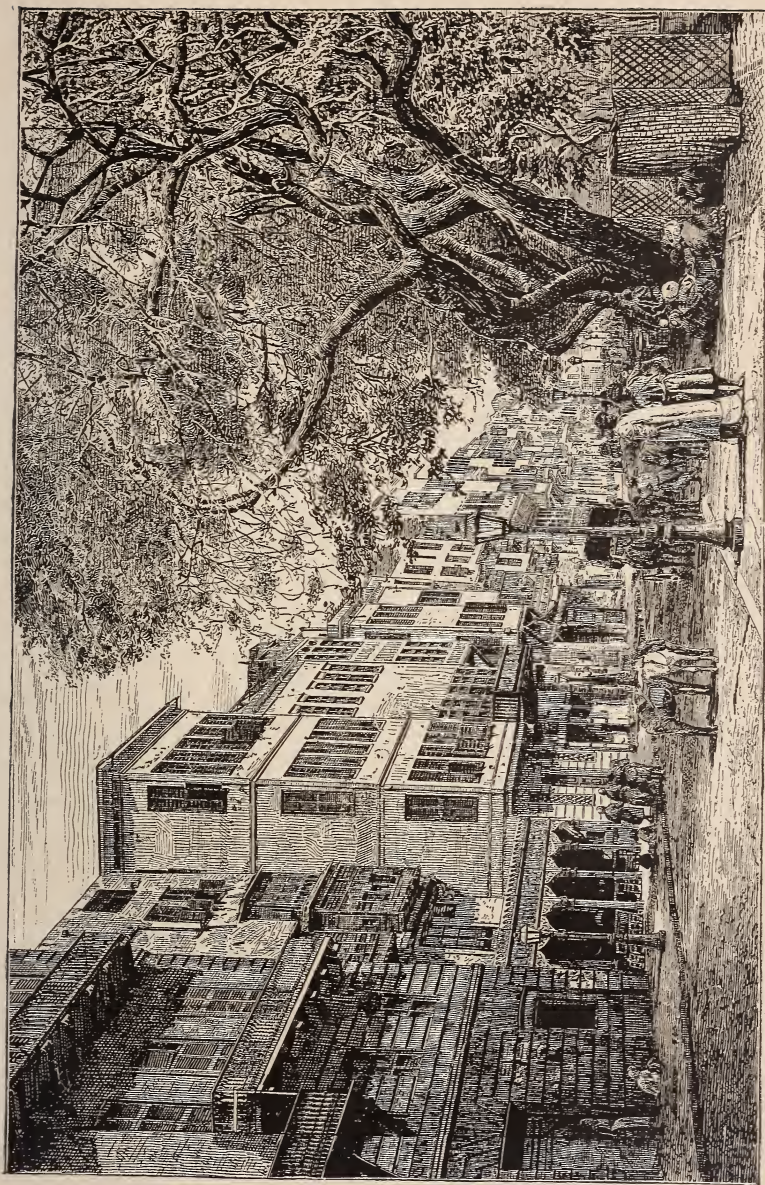
conquered her Roman conquerors and ended with suicide. They were removed from Heliopolis under Tiberius. One was long ago presented by Mohammed Ali to the English government, but it was not thought worth the cost of transportation, and lay in the sand and mud until in the summer of 1877, when it was carried to England to adorn the new embankment of the Thames. The other still stands erect. The Needles of Cleopatra, however, are far inferior to the Obelisk of Luxor, which since 1834 adorns the Place de la Concorde in Paris.

Alexandria can easily be seen in a day. The Frank quarter has some fine buildings and is fast improving. The native quarters are full of filth and misery. Ophthalmia prevails to a fearful extent all over Egypt, especially among children, whose eyes are besieged with flies, and the parents make no attempt to drive them away. I had the first illustration of the Scriptures in the water-carriers—men with water-skins on their shoulders and women carrying huge water-jars gracefully on their heads. The most interesting part is the picturesque Oriental life in the streets, and the people sitting, working, eating, smoking, and sleeping on the ground. But this may be studied to better advantage in Cairo.

The journey from Alexandria to Cairo takes about five hours by railway and is full of surprises. It is the first railway that was built in the East (1855), and must have struck the Arabs with amazement. The tickets are marked with Arabic letters, which an Irishman compared to a hen-scratch. The road passes through the rich plains of the Delta, the old land of Goshen, and on the

right bank of the Nile. The country is as flat and as fertile as a prairie of Illinois, and one need not wonder that the children of Israel in the barren desert were sighing for the flesh-pots, the onions and the garlic of Egypt. Strange sights present themselves to the eye as we advance—green fields of cotton, beans, wheat, and barley; the tamarisk, the stately palm-tree; flocks of wild ducks, white ibises, pelicans, and storks; trains of camels, loaded with sacks of grain and chicken-coops; officers prancing along on horses or donkeys; fellaheen ploughing with buffaloes or pumping water from the Nile and the canals; mud villages, mosques, and minarets; crowds of half-naked men, women, and children at every station; and in the far distance the yellow hills of the desert and the lofty pyramids, at the sight of which a thrill goes through the soul. In the afternoon we reach the station at Cairo; and, after escaping the confusion of men, donkeys, camels, and cabs, we are comfortably lodged in Shepheard's Hotel, one of the best in the East, kept by a German, in the new part of the city.

The climate is delightful. We are suddenly transplanted from winter to spring, from clouds and rain to perpetual sunshine. During our whole sojourn in Egypt we saw rain but once, and that hardly sufficient for the sprinkling of a lotus. Egypt is truly the land of the sun.



PARK IN CAIRO.

CHAPTER IV.

CAIRO.

The Capital of Egypt—The Cosmopolis of the East—
The Street Life—The Bazaars—The Citadel—The
Mosques—The Old University El-Azhar—The New
University of the Khedive—The Library—The Mu-
seum of Boulak—Old Cairo—Roda—The Palaces.

CAIRO (Masr el-Kâhira, the Victorious), the capital of Egypt and of the Arab world, is also a capital of Moham-
medanism and the East, second in importance only to Constantinople. It is the counterpart of Paris, London, and New York, the cosmopolitan cities of Christendom and the West. It has a thoroughly Oriental character, though not so exclusively as Damascus, but, like Constantinople, with a considerable infusion of European life and civilization which are fast making inroads upon the conservative East. The great mass of the 400,000 inhabitants are Egyptian Arabs, and followers of Islam. The rest are Copts (or Egyptian Christians); Turks (who are, of course, all Moslems); Bedawin (or Arabs of the desert); Jews, Italians, Greeks, French, Germans, English, and a few Americans. The last class occupy high positions in the army, or spend the winter there for health and pleasure.

The greatest charm of Cairo is the street-life. It is as amusing, exciting and bewildering as the "Arabian

Nights" entertainments, and makes an indelible impression upon the traveller. It is a moving panorama of all nationalities, creeds, languages, and costumes, with a strong preponderance of the Oriental and semi-barbarous element. It is a perpetual carnival, which defies description. The boulevards of Paris, London Bridge, and New York Broadway, are tame compared with it. You may enjoy this unique spectacle quietly sitting on the verandah of Shepherd's Hotel; but still better in the old town, especially the Muskee. The old houses are high and narrow, with upper stories projecting. The streets are covered with rafters and matting, to keep out the glare of the sun, and are lined with open shops of every variety. They are alive with gaudily-dressed and half-dressed men and veiled women, water-carriers, peddlers of all kinds of wares, braying donkeys, growling camels, barking dogs, horses and carriages—all jostling against each other in endless confusion. In Muskee the crowd is so dense that it seems impossible to get through, and the noise so loud that you cannot hear your own voice. A German called it a veritable *Höllenscandal*. Every carriage and aristocratic donkey is preceded by one or more fleet runners (saïs), in short trowsers, bare legs, and with a long staff to clear the way. The men wear the red fez or turbans of all colors. The green color marks a descendant of the Prophet or a pilgrim to Mecca. Mohammed's banner was green, and hence, to unfold the green banner of the Prophet means to declare a religious war against the infidels. The women are imprisoned in long veils of silk or muslin, white or black or

blue, according to rank; the veil is divided about the forehead, and fastened to a pin or cylinder of brass or silver over the nose so as to leave the dark, restless, and frightened eyes free to satisfy the curiosity. Many of the lower women carry naked babies on their shoulders or in baskets, and the eyes of the poor children are in undisturbed possession of swarms of flies. Not many years ago it would have been dangerous for a female to appear unveiled on the street; now you see plenty of Europeans in their usual dress. The old fanaticism of Islam has been hopelessly undermined under the liberal *régime* of the present Khedive.

I will not attempt to describe the bazaars, in which the ladies are specially interested. There are special bazaars for gold and silver ornaments, for silks, for carpets, for slippers, for pipes and tobacco, for antiquities mostly of modern manufacture, for fez caps, for hardware and all sorts of ware, Oriental and Occidental, genuine and spurious. They are mostly in narrow lanes, half-lighted and aglow with gorgeous colors. The merchant sits cross-legged, smoking his long pipe, in the midst of his goods, in all his Oriental dignity. I well remember a patriarchal-looking Jew who calls himself "Far-away-Moses," who treated us to a cup of Persian tea and persuaded us to buy silks, covers and slippers for about half the "fixed" prices he at first asked. I met him afterwards in Constantinople in the same business.

My first excursion was to the Citadel. It affords a commanding view of the city, the Valley of the Nile, the distant Pyramids, the sands and hills of the desert beyond.

It is one of the finest pictures in the world and can never be forgotten. On this spot Mohammed Ali, by a treacherous massacre, destroyed the power of the Mamelukes (1811), whose chiefs he had invited to a military parade. One only escaped death by a bold leap on horseback over the wall.

Within the limits of the Citadel is the beautiful alabaster Mosque of Mohammed Ali, with the tomb of this great but unscrupulous tyrant, who died in insanity (1849). It was completed in 1857. It is certainly one of the noblest structures of that kind, and, being new, it is exceptionally clean and elegant. The Mosque of Sultan Hassan, at the foot of the Citadel, completed in 1359, is called "the splendid;" but it is neglected and in a state of decay, like many other temples of Islam. Opposite to it is the unfinished mosque of the mother of the Khedive.

The Moslem architecture grew out of the round form of the tent, the habitation of the Bedawin, and combines with it the cupola of the Byzantine churches. The mosques are covered with carpets or rugs, for kneeling and prostration, and a pulpit or reading-desk; but they have no seats, no benches, no altar, no pictures, and betray the iconoclastic character of Mohammedan worship.

One of the most instructive sights to me was the old Moslem University, founded in 975, in the Mosque *El-Azhar*. It is the largest in the world and numbers over 10,000 pupils and 320 professors, from all Mohammedan nations. Many, however, attend it to escape conscription to the army, which in Egypt and Turkey is feared more than death. It is the hot-bed of Mohammedan fanaticism.

The Koran is the only text-book for grammar, logic, law, and philosophy, as well as theology. The university has the appearance of a huge Sunday-school. The students sit cross-legged on the floor, in small groups, reading or listening to the instruction of the teacher. There they also eat, and sleep on a blanket or straw mat. They support themselves, or are supported by the alms of the faithful. The professors receive no salary, and are supported by private instruction, copying books, and presents from rich scholars. There are no benches, no chairs, no beds, no comforts of any kind. The simplicity and self-denial of this student-life is something marvellous. Our theological students could not stand it a week. Attached to the Mosque is a chapel for 300 blind scholars. I visited the University twice, in company with Dr. Lansing, of Cairo, and Dr. Hogg, of Osiout, who familiarly conversed in Arabic ; but some scholars looked rather suspiciously at us. We had first to get permission from the headquarters of the police, and to wait nearly an hour till the formalities were gone through. The head of police, formerly a Circassian slave, sat there in his dignity and politely treated us to a little cup of dark coffee and a cigarette, the usual manifestation of Oriental hospitality. He wrote his orders to the many servants who passed in and out, not on the table or the divan, but on his knee. As long as El-Azhar is thronged with students, Islam will be a great power in Africa and Asia.

In striking contrast to this Old University is the New University, founded by the Khedive and superintended by Mr. Dor, the minister of public instruction, a Swiss

by birth. I had a letter of introduction to him from my friend Dr. Godet in Neuchatel, and I found him a very intelligent and courteous gentleman, but in delicate health. He gave me much information about the schools in Egypt, and complained of the want of funds. The New University represents the modern system of secular education, without religion, and affords instruction in all modern languages ; while in the Old University the Koran and the Arabic are the exclusive object and organ of teaching. It numbers, however, only 300 pupils, and is looked upon with suspicion by the genuine Moslems. Time will show whether the new civilization is able to conquer the old fanaticism.

Near the New University is the library of the Khedive, founded in 1870. It numbers already over 25,000 volumes, mostly Arabic, Turkish, and French works. It is especially rich in old copies of the Koran (*musâhif*), collected from the various mosques of Cairo. They are of large size, written with the greatest skill and care, well bound, and present the finest specimens of Arab calligraphy, equal to the best mediæval manuscripts of the Bible. The student of the Koran and its commentators will scarcely find a more favorable opportunity to prosecute his work than here. The obliging librarian, Dr. Spitta, is an excellent Arabic scholar, a pupil of Professor Fleischer, of Leipsic, and a son of the sweet German singer, the author of "Psaltery and Harp." A brother of his is a theologian and superintends the Tholuck stipend at Halle.

No one interested in Egyptian history and antiquities

will fail to visit the museum at *Boulak*, a suburb and harbor of Cairo, on the right bank of the Nile. Although of recent origin, it has already, by the indefatigable zeal of its founder and superintendent, Mariette-Bey, become one of the richest collections of Egyptian antiquities, and can favorably compare with those of Turin, Berlin, the Louvre, and the British Museum. The building is too small, and a larger one is in course of preparation, on the other side of the Nile. The original locality of all the articles is known. A French catalogue, prepared by Mariette-Bey, gives a full description. Bädcker also, in the first part of his *Ägypten* (1877), dwells on it at length (pp. 313-324). Among the most interesting curiosities is the wooden statue of a civil officer, of striking individuality, which contrasts favorably with the petrified stiffness of Egyptian art. Biblical scholars will be interested in a statue of Rameses II. (the Pharaoh of Israel's oppression), and the head of his son, Menephthah (the Pharaoh of the Exodus).

We can barely mention other remarkable spots in the neighborhood which will repay a visit. Old Cairo is the Babylon of the Romans, and according to the local Coptic tradition the Babylon from which St. Peter dated his first Epistle, while most commentators decide in favor of Babylon in Asia or possibly of the mystic Babylon, ancient Rome. In the crypt of the old Coptic church Abu Serge, the Virgin Mary with the Holy child, is said to have spent a month. Close by is the island Rôda with a celebrated Nilometre. Among the many palaces, that of Gezire with a fine park and menagerie is

the most beautiful. It was finished by a German architect in 1868, and accommodated the Empress Eugenie, the Emperor of Austria, and the Prince of Wales. I saw nothing in it which could offend refined taste. The wild animals, especially the lions, tigers, and hyenas, show in this their native climate much more vitality and vigor than in European menageries. The Kiosk, in the middle of the garden, is considered the finest of the modern Arab buildings in Egypt, and is ornamented in the style of the Alhambra.

CHAPTER V.

THE PYRAMIDS.

The Pyramids and Sphinxes fit Symbols of Egypt—
Number and Design of the Pyramids—Royal
Sepulchres—Egyptian Belief in Immortality
and Resurrection—The Pyramids of Gheezeh—
The Great Pyramid—Ascent of the Pyramid—A
Unique Panorama—The King's and the Queen's
Chamber—The Great Sphinx—The Bedawin
Guides—Piazzi Smyth's Theory—A Miracle in
Stone—Allusions in the Bible—General Character
of the Pyramids and Egyptian Monuments—
Despotism and Slavery—The Present Khedive—
The Future of Egypt.

A VISIT to the pyramids—"the memorials of the world's youth"—is an event in a man's life. It is worth a visit to Egypt. The pyramids and the sphinxes are the fittest symbols, the best welcome, and the best farewell to the land of the Pharaohs, who themselves rose like pyramids, in solitary grandeur, far above the desert plain of slavery around them. It is a remarkable fact, that the grandest architectural achievements of men are usually found in level countries—as the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, Lombardy, the Netherlands—where they can display their vastness and majesty without fear of rivalry from the mightier works of God. A pyramid or a cathedral in the Highlands of

Berne, in Zermatt, or in Chamouni, would be overpeered and overshadowed by the Jungfrau, the Matterhorn, or Mont Blanc.

There were once more than seventy pyramids, representing as many kings, in the valley of the Nile, on the borders of the desert.* Some have disappeared entirely, the others are in a more or less ruined condition. The word is probably derived from the Egyptian "Pi-Rama," the mountain. Pyramids are mountains of stone, built for the same purpose as the rock-tombs, to hide a royal mummy in perfect security. As soon as a king ascended the throne, he began to build his monument and his sepulchre. He wished to reign even after his death. The size of the pyramid corresponded to the length of the reign.† Each year added a new pile of limestone; higher and higher rose the structure the longer the monarch lived, until the top was reached, and the four triangles of the royal tomb were covered with polished granite. Then the body of the dead monarch, carefully embalmed, was deposited in the stone sarcophagus previously pre-

* Brugsch-Bey (*Geschichte Ägyptens unter den Pharaonen, nach den Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 73) says: "*Mehr als siebenzig der Pyramiden erhoben einst sich an dem Rand der Wüste, jede einen König kündend, der Grab und Denkmal sich gleichzeitig schuf.*" Other writers count forty-five, or sixty-five, or as many as one hundred and thirty, including all sorts of pyramidal structures, ancient and modern. Lepsius, the leader of the Prussian expedition, 1842-44, discovered no less than thirty pyramids which had escaped the attention of former travellers. Piazzi Smyth ("Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramids," 1874, p. 3) reduces the number of pyramids to thirty-eight, and gives a list of them, p. 412, sq.

† Lepsius and Brugsch think that additions could be made to the upright sides of the stages at any time before the triangular spaces were filled in. But Wilkinson dissents from this view. See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Vol. II., p. 173, note (Appleton's ed.).

pared in the interior of the building, and the access was closed. The pyramids were thus the massive and impenetrable casings of a royal mummy, without windows, without doors and external opening, surrounded by a vast necropolis of the priests, relations, and high officers of the royal builders.

To account for this custom we must remember the strong belief of the ancient Egyptians in the immortality and migration of the soul and its ultimate return to the body. For this reason the mummy must be preserved with religious care. The scarabæus—the shining black beetle which lays its eggs in small balls of dirt on the Nile, rolls them along with its hind feet to the borders of the desert and deposits them in holes for burial and resurrection—was worshipped as an emblem of fertility and immortality; it was modelled in precious materials with spread wings, worn in rings, carried as a charm, used as a seal, and buried with the mummy. Scarabæi, genuine and spurious, are among the most frequent antiques offered for sale. According to Herodotus (Book II., chap. 124), the Egyptians were the first nation who held the opinion that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body dies, it enters into the form of an animal which is born at the moment, thence repassing on from one animal into another, until it has circled through all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame and is born anew. The whole period of the transmigration is, they say three thousand years. He also relates the singular custom that at the social banquets of the

rich a wooden skeleton in a coffin was carried round and shown to the guests with the words, "Look on this, and drink and be merry; for when thou art dead, such shalt thou be." The constant thought of death, retribution, and the long migration of the lonely soul through tracts unknown, imparted to them an air of melancholy sadness which was, however, relieved by the hope of resurrection as symbolized in the myth of their chief divinity, Osiris. The famous "Book of the Dead," or "Funeral Ritual," of which several copies were found in the tombs, is a guide or a sort of Pilgrim's Progress to the other world, with hymns, prayers, rubrics, and directions.* It gives a mystical account of the adventures of the soul after death, its passage to Hades, and its judgment by Osiris. The great god is seated on his throne, his forty-two assessors seated in two rows inquire into the forty-two sins. Thoth weighs the heart in the balance; if found too light, the soul is doomed to the torments of hell, or to migrations in the body of a pig or other animal; if the heart is found sufficiently heavy, the soul ascends to the fields of bliss among the gods, while the well-preserved mummy waits for its resurrection and reunion with the immortal spirit. The monuments frequently represent pictures of this judgment scene, including the pig into which the wicked soul is sent. Pytha-

* Best editions by Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1842 (from a Turin papyrus), and *Älteste Texte des altägyptischen Todtenbuchs*, Berlin, 1867; by De Rougé, *Rituel funéraire*, Paris, 1861-5; and by Birch in the fifth volume of Bunsen's great work on *Egypt*, London, 1867. See also Bunsen's *Egypt*, Vol. V., pp. 123, sqq., and Vigouroux *La Bible et les découvertes modernes en Egypte et en Assyrie*, Paris, 1877, vol. 2, pp. 431-435.

goras borrowed his notion of the metempsychosis, or metensomatosis, from the Egyptians.

The largest pyramids are in the neighborhood of Memphis, on the border of the Lybian desert, at Saklara, Aboosir, Dashoor, and Gheezeh. They were erected by the Pharaohs of the Memphitic dynasties. The Pharaohs of the Theban dynasties preferred the rock-tombs which abound in Upper Egypt, and are like subterranean palaces. The three pyramids of Gheezeh* are best preserved and the most interesting of all. They were built by Chufu (Sofu), Chafra, and Menkera, all of the fourth dynasty of Memphis (B. C. 3091 to 3020). They lie ten miles west of Cairo, and can now be easily reached by carriage in two hours, but the Bedawin keep the end of the road in a wretched condition that they may have a chance to earn a few shillings by dragging the carriage through the sand, and bearing feeble or timid passengers on their shoulders.

Among these three pyramids of Gheezeh, the Pyramid of Cheops or the "Great Pyramid," is by far the most important, and worth all the rest. It is *the* pyramid, as the mysterious sphinx at its base is *the* Sphinx. It is probably the oldest and certainly the largest building in the world, though but a pigmy of yesterday as compared with God's own pyramids—the Alps. It was one of the seven wonders of the Old World, and it is a wonder and a puzzle to-day. Well might Napoleon fire his soldiers by pointing them to that hoary monarch of

* The word is differently spelled, Gheezeh, Geezeh, Ghiseh, Gize, Ieezeh, Jizeh, Djiza, Dsjise, Dschiseh, etc.

buildings from which "forty centuries looked down upon them." It was erected by Chufu (or Cheops, as Herodotus call him), more than two thousand, if not three thousand, years before Christ.* It was old when Rome was built, when Homer sang, when David reigned, when Moses led the children of Israel from the land of bondage, yea, when Abraham visited Pharaoh. Its base covers thirteen acres, or an area of 61,835 (formerly 65,437) square yards, and it rises to a perpendicular height of 460 (formerly 479) feet, the loftiest human structure in the world. It is computed to have contained 6,848,000 tons of solid masonry. And yet we see it only in its mutilated state. The vandalism of the Greeks, Romans, and Saracens has robbed it of the polished red granite casing, to enrich their palaces and mosques. It was built in steps or successive stages by means of machines formed of short wooden planks. The upper portion was finished first, the lowest last. Herodotus (Book II., chs. 124, 125) was informed that 100,000 workmen, changing every three months (360,000 according to Diodorus), were constantly employed for ten years in making the

* Chufu reigned, according to Lepsius, Ebers, and others, B. C. 3091 to 3076. But the Egyptologists differ very widely in their chronology. Mariette puts the building of the Great Pyramid back to B. C. 4235, Brugsch to B. C. 3733; while Piazzi Smyth puts it down to the age of Abraham and Melchisedek, B. C. 2170. Chufu was the second Pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, and reigned for some time together with his brother Nou Chufu, and this accounts for the 50 years assigned to his reign by Herodotus (Book II., ch. 127). He was followed by Chafra (the Chephren of the Greeks), who built the second pyramid of Gheezeh (B. C. 3067 to 3043), and by Menkera (the Mykerinos of the Greeks), who built the third and smallest (B. C. 3043 to 3020). According to Herodotus, Cheops and Chephren were very despotic and unpopular, Mykerinos humane and just.



ASCENT OF A PYRAMID.

causeway for the conveyance of the stones, and twenty years more in building the Great Pyramid itself, at a cost of 1,600 talents of silver (about \$1,700,000, or over seven millions of German marks).

We must not forget the dark side of the picture. The pyramids, like the Tower of Babel, the Colosseum of Rome, and similar monuments of pride and folly, tell in silent eloquence a tale of tears and sorrow of a whole people which groaned under the yoke of tyrants, and cursed their memory. Even centuries after the death of the builders, when Herodotus visited the pyramids, the Egyptians remembered the sufferings and curses of their forefathers, and refused to mention the names of the kings who built the two largest pyramids (Chufu and Chafra). He was told that their bodies which were to be entombed there, were buried in unknown places from fear that they might be stolen and torn to pieces. And what did the 300,000 or more laborers get for their toil? Radish, onion, garlic, and nameless obscurity. For an inscription on the outside mentioned the quantity of these vegetables spent upon the laborers, and the amount of money it cost.

We climb over the rugged blocks to the top of the Great Pyramid, which is thirty feet square, and with the help of the Arabs we reach it in a quarter of an hour. Here we enjoy a panorama without a parallel in the world. The green garden of the Nile and the yellow desert, teeming life and boundless death bordering on each other in startling contrast! Towards the east we see the fertile fields, the stately palms, the majestic

river with dahabeahs and steamers bound for Nubia, the city of Cairo with its citadel, mosques and minarets, and beyond it the Mokattam hills; towards the west an ocean of drifting sand and barren rock; towards the south the mysterious Sphinx, the neighboring pyramids of Chafra and Menkera, and the more distant pyramids of Aboosir, Sakkara, and Dashoor. The impression is spiritualized by the historical associations which involuntarily pass before the mind's eye—Abraham, Joseph, the patriarchal family, Moses, the Exodus; the Egypt of the Pharaohs, of Cambyes and the Persians, of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies, of the Romans and the Byzantine Emperors, of the Mohammedans and Saracens, of the Turks, of the Mamelukes, of Napoleon, of Mohammed Ali, and of the present Khedive. Never did I feel so deeply the spell of antiquity. "All things fear time, but time fears the pyramids."

Having ascended to the top, we shall not shun the severer task of examining the interior, where we must literally stoop to conquer. With guides and torches we crawl through the dark, narrow, and slippery passages, first descending, then ascending to the Grand Gallery, and into the heart of the structure, the King's Chamber. This chamber is thirty-four feet long, seventeen broad, and nineteen high, and contains the only furniture in the building, an open and empty sarcophagus of polished granite, which was intended to be the resting-place of Cheops, but probably never contained his mummy. The coffin has no trace of an inscription, but its size and position have given rise to far-reaching speculations, which



THE SPHINX AND A PYRAMID.

we shall notice below. Returning through the Grand Gallery, we pass through a horizontal passage into the Queen's Chamber, so called, which is empty. Probably the Great Pyramid was the work of two kings, as Colonel Vyse discovered the names of two Chufu or Shufu (Cheops and his brother) among the quarry marks on the blocks; and that they reigned together, is shown by the number of years ascribed to their reigns. This circumstance accounts for two chambers in this pyramid. The impression produced in these dark passages is altogether different from the one on the top; we are overwhelmed with the mystery of death and eternity. Perspiring and covered with dust, we wind our way back, and are glad to come out of this suffocating labyrinth of death into the pure air and the golden light of the sun.

We next visit the colossal Sphinx who keeps sleepless watch over the vast necropolis. He is cut out of the solid rock, about six hundred steps from the second pyramid, and raises his mutilated human head and lion paws out of the sand of the desert in which he was buried for ages. The sphinxes, like all the Egyptian gods, are a monstrous union of man and beast. They have always the body of a lion, and either the head of a man (never of a woman) or of a ram, as those which lead to the temple of Karnak. The former are called Andros-Sphinxes, the latter Krios-Sphinxes. The Assyrians provided their sphinxes with wings, as an emblem of swiftness and the power of elevation. The sphinxes are usually supposed to represent sovereign royalty—intellect combined with physical strength; but according to an inscription

at Edfu, they originally symbolized the conflict of the god Horus (the son of Osiris and Isis) with the evil spirit Typhon, when, in order to avenge the death of Osiris, he assumed the shape of a lion with a human head, and slew the enemy. Of all sphinxes, the one at Gheezeh is the most imposing. He is supposed by modern Egyptologists to be as old or even older than the pyramids. And yet Herodotus makes no mention of him. The ruins of a temple of the Sphinx were discovered a few steps from the statue by Mariette in 1853. The Sphinx is merely a ruin of what he was when sacrifices were offered on the altar between his lion paws of fifty feet in length. And yet he makes an overpowering impression as, with dreamy eyes, he stares in majestic repose over the valley of the Nile and the vast wilderness towards the rising sun. The Arabs call him "*Abu'l hôl*," the Father of Terror or Immensity. He reminds one of the impenetrable mysteries of eternity. "We shall die, and Islam shall wither away, and still that sleepless rock will be watching and watching the works of a new, busy race with those same sad, earnest eyes and the same tranquil mien everlastingly. You dare not mock at the Sphinx."

The visit of these monuments is made easy, vexing, and funny, by an irrepressible rabble of semi-savage Bedawin who live in miserable shanties close by, and claim a sort of ownership over the pyramids and the Sphinx, and swarm about the traveller like ravenous wolves; but they are only hungry for his money, not for his flesh. In ascending the Great Pyramid, two of these swarthy Arabs pull you in front by the hand, one or two push from be-

hind, and encourage you with broken fragments of half a dozen languages : " I good guide, you good baksheesh—Patienza signore—Allez doucement—Chi va piano va sano e va lontano (the other half, 'chi va forte va alla morte,' is omitted)—All serene—Go ahead—Half way up—well done—I liky you—Good man—Dear doctor—baksheesh." We would willingly give them a double portion of the everlasting baksheesh, (although we have paid it already to the sheikh,) if they only would leave us for a few minutes on the top to enjoy the panorama of life and death, and to muse over the boundless past. But we cannot get rid of them ; neither sticks nor hard words make any impression. One offers you a drink of water ; another a chisel to engrave your name ; a third has antiques for sale as old as Memphis or as new as Birmingham ; still another is anxious to run down and to run up the polished casing of the pyramid of Chafra in ten minutes like a monkey, and he does it for a franc from each traveller. By-and-by some enterprising Yankee will build an elevator or lift (as they say in England) to the top of the pyramid, and charge a dollar a head. In the meantime we must put up with these human machines. There is no use to get out of humor, the best way is to bear the annoyance good-naturedly, and to play with these hungry children of the desert, who are a necessity and an amusement as well as a nuisance. Some are very handsome and intelligent-looking fellows, and might be made useful men by proper education.

We must not leave the Great Pyramid without alluding to some curious recent speculations about its real

design and value. Every visitor must be impressed with its venerable age, colossal size, and unique surroundings. But some regard it after all as a very plain, unproductive, and useless building, in which nothing can be stored up excepting a corpse.* In the opinion of others it is a very miracle in stone, a petrification of divine wisdom, a pre-historic revelation of the mysteries of science, and a prophecy of the first and second coming of Christ.† This theory was prepared in part by the measurements of Col. Howard Vyse (1837), the discoveries and conjectures of John Taylor of London (1859 and 1864), and carried out with a great waste of learning and ingenuity by Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal for Scotland (1874). Smyth spent with his wife four months at the Great Pyramid, and carefully examined its mechanical features and mathematical proportions with a variety of scientific instruments. He finds the proper solution of the riddle of this pyramid, not in the hieroglyphic science of the Egyptologists, but in the mathematical and physical science of our day. Its message is expressed, not in any written or spoken language, but in scientific facts and features now interpreted by science. Accordingly the pyramid is a prophetic parable in stone, constructed on principles of science, to convey a new proof to men in the present age of the existence of a personal God, his supernatural interference in patriarchal times,

* Barham Zincke, "Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Khedive" (London, 1873), p. 61.

† Piazzi Smyth, in his elaborate books, "Life and Work at the Great Pyramid in 1865" (3 vols., Edinburgh), and "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid" (London, 1874, 1 vol., 526 pp., with 17 explanatory plates).

and his revelations of the first and second advent of Christ. The pyramid stands at the apex (or rather ten miles south of the apex) of the Delta of the Nile, and in the centre of the habitable globe, or the land surface of the earth. It stands four-square on the thirtieth parallel of latitude, its four sides facing exactly the four points of the compass, north, south, east, and west. There are in each side of the base just $365\frac{1}{4}$ cubits, which is the precise number of days in the year, with the six hours addition. Its chief corner-stone is not at the base, but at the top, the apex, and symbolizes Christ, "the head corner-stone." Psa. 112:22. It has no trace of idolatry in writing, painting, or sculpture. The lidless and empty coffer in the King's Chamber was never intended for a sarcophagus or royal tomb, but it is a metrological monument or standard measure of capacity and weight for all ages and nations, equivalent to the laver of the Hebrews or four quarters of English measure. It accomplishes the mathematical feat of squaring the circle, the height being to the circumference of the base as the radius is to the circumference of a circle. The very name of the pyramid means "measure of wheat" (from *πυρός*, wheat, and *μέτρον*, measure). The Grand Gallery which leads to the King's Chamber symbolizes the Christian dispensation, and indicates in pyramid inches the thirty-three years of the Saviour's earthly life. The first ascending passage represents the Mosaic dispensation, the other narrow passages mean lower religions. Such profound design and wisdom can only be traced to divine revelation, like the building of the Tabernacle by Moses. The

Great Pyramid, though *in* Egypt, was not *of* Egypt, but stands in contrast to Egyptian idolatry and beast worship. It was probably built by Melchisedek, the friend of Abraham, the worshipper of the only true God, the priest-king who typified our Saviour. He was that mysterious stranger, the shepherd "Philitis," or "Philiton," *i. e.*, a Philistian from Palestine, who, as Herodotus was informed, fed his flocks at Gheezeh about the time when the Great Pyramid was built, and took some part in it.* Cheops merely furnished the workmen and the material for his royal sepulchre; but Melchisedek executed his plan, revealed to him from God, for a monument of the pure faith in the midst of surrounding idolatry, and as a sign and wonder for after ages.

This is the astounding theory which has been adopted by several respectable English and American writers, but is silently ignored by the first Egyptologists of the age as unworthy of serious notice. I am unable to follow Piazzzi Smyth into the intricacies of his scientific

* Herodotus was told by Egyptian priests that "Cheops, on ascending the throne, plunged into all manner of wickedness. He closed the temples and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices, compelling them instead to labor, one and all, in his service," *viz.*, in building the Great Pyramid. Book II., chap. 124 (Rawlinson's transl., Vol. II., p. 169). He states moreover (chap. 128) that "the Egyptians so detest the memory of these kings [Cheops and Chephren] that they do not much like even to mention their names. Hence they commonly call the pyramids [the first and second] after Philiton, a shepherd who at that time fed his flocks about the place." This Philiton is no doubt a confused and anachronistic allusion to the Hyksos or shepherd kings (from Hyk, king, and sos, shepherd), who may have invaded Egypt from Palestine or Philistia, and whose memory as foreign conquerors was hated by the Egyptians. But their invasion took place after the twelfth dynasty, or nearly one thousand years after Cheops.

calculations, and measurements. I am quite ready to admit, from general impressions, that the builder of this monument was in possession of an astonishing amount of mathematical and astronomical knowledge. But the prophetic theology and Messianic symbolism of the pyramid seem to me to have no better foundation than the conjecture of the famous mediæval traveller Sir John Mandeville, who thought that the pyramids were the granaries of Joseph, built for the storage of grain for the years of famine. He did not examine the interior, being told that they were full of serpents. Piazzi Smyth has examined the interior, and put into it a vast deal of his own wisdom, after the eisegetical manner of those allegorical and typological exegetes who make the Scriptures responsible for their own pious thoughts and fancies, never dreamed of by the sacred writers. Why should the Great Pyramid be an exception to all the rest? If it is free from idolatrous inscriptions, so are the others which contain only the cartouches of the royal builders. The pyramid of Cheops, moreover, is surrounded by monuments of idolatry, as the temple of the Sphinx and the Sphinx himself, to whom divine worship was offered. If the Grand Gallery prophesies the life of Christ, it should certainly lead to something more important than a metrological coffer. This would indeed be but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. And if the Great Pyramid was intended for a divine sign and wonder, why was its meaning hidden for forty or fifty centuries, and revealed only in our day? Why is there no mention whatever of it in the Bible?

We are indeed directed to Isa. 19: 19, 20, where the prophet speaks of "an altar" and a "pillar," which shall be for "a sign and witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt;" but this is predicted as a *future* event by Isaiah, who lived many centuries *after* the building of the Great Pyramid. Smyth quotes also Jer. 32: 20, where the prophet speaks of "signs and wonders," which the Lord "has set in the land of Egypt, *even* unto this day, and in Israel, and among other men; and has made him a name as at this day." But not to speak of the plural which cannot refer to a single building, the very next verse shows plainly that Jeremiah alludes to the miracles of Moses: "And hast brought forth thy people Israel out of the land of Egypt with signs and with wonders, and with a strong hand," etc. It is very evident that such exegesis is a poor recommendation to the allegorical interpretation of the pyramid.

The Bible, as far as I know, alludes but once to the pyramids, and then with a certain irony, namely, in Job's fearful denunciation of the day of his birth (3: 11-14):

"Why at the birth did I not die—
 When from the womb I came—and breathe my last?
 Why were the nursing knees prepared?
 And why the breasts that I should suck?
 For now in silence had I lain me down;
 Yea, I had slept and been at rest
 With kings and legislators of the earth—
 The men who built their pyramids—
 Or princes once enriched with gold,
 Their homes with treasure filled."

The Hebrew word *charaboth* (חרבות), which in our English version is mistranslated "desolate places," means

either ruins* or (as the context favors) mausoleums, pyramids.†

* So Gesenius, Umbreit, Schlottmann Zöckler (in Lange). Tayler Lewis, whose elegant translation (in Lange) I have otherwise given above, renders the word by "mouldering monuments," *i. e.*, mouldering like the memory of those who built them.

† So some of the best Hebrew scholars and commentators, as Ewald, Dillmann, Fürst, Renan, Merx, Evans (in Lange). Fürst gives as the first meaning of *הַרְבֵּה* wilderness; as the second meaning (in the plural only) mausoleum, pyramid; and adds, by way of comment, "The vain kings of Egypt built pyramids as their palatial sepulchres, which they filled with their treasures."

CHAPTER VI.

HELIOPOLIS.

Heliopolis—Significance of the Name—A City of Priests and Scholars—Its Antiquity—The Patriarchs—Joseph's Marriage—Moses' Education—Herodotus, Plato, Strabo—Jeremiah's Prophecy—Present Ruins—Sphinxes—Obelisk—Vandalism—The Virgin's Tree and the Virgin's Fountain—Amusing Ignorance of some Travellers.

ON a sunny afternoon, in March I made, in company with several American, English, and Scotch fellow-travellers, an excursion to the ruins of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, one of the most ancient cities of the world. It lies about eight miles northeast of Cairo, and can be reached by carriage or donkey over a good road, through rich grain-fields, meadows, and vineyards.

Heliopolis is the Greek name for the Egyptian *êi-n-re* (*i. e.*, "the abode of the sun"), from which was derived the Hebrew *On* or *Aon* (Gen. 41:45), translated *Beth-Shemesh* (*i. e.*, the house of the sun, Jer. 43:13). It was the Rome and Oxford of ancient Egypt, the capital of its hierarchy and its university, the centre of its religion and learning. Every Pharaoh brought his rich offerings to this place, and bore the proud title, "Lord of Heliopolis." Here was the sanctuary of the worship of Rah, or the sun, and of the sacred bull Mnevis. Here arose the legend of the wonder-bird Phoenix, which the early fathers

employed to illustrate the doctrine of the resurrection. Here Joseph the patriarch was married to Asenath, the daughter of the priest Potipherah or Potiphar (*i. e.*, dedicated to Rah, or priest of the Sun), and mother of Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20). Here (according to Josephus) the family of Jacob first resided on their arrival in Egypt. Here Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Here Herodotus, "the father of history," acquired most of his knowledge of that land laid down in his second book, where he calls the Heliopolitans "the best skilled in history of all the Egyptians." (II. 3.) Here Plato, the prince of Greek philosophers, studied, and the house in which he spent several years was still shown at the time of Strabo.

The marriage of Joseph has given rise to Jewish legends and an apocryphal novel, which exists in Greek and in Syriac under the title, "The Life and Confession of Asenath, daughter of Pentephres (Potipherah) of Heliopolis; a narrative of what happened when the beautiful Joseph took her to wife." Asenath, it is said, was a proud beauty, living in great splendor with seven attendants, and disdaining all lovers except Pharaoh's oldest son, who loved her, but was forbidden by his father to marry her. When she saw Joseph from her window as he entered Heliopolis to collect corn in the first year of plenty, she was captivated by his beauty, ran down, hailed him as "My lord, blessed of the most high God," and at her father's bidding made bold to kiss him. Joseph refused to kiss an idolatrous woman, but seeing her tears, he laid his hand on her head, and prayed God to

convert her to the true faith, and then departed. She threw her idols out of the window, repented seven days, saw an angel of comfort, and was married to Joseph by Pharaoh with great pomp. This romance is in an Ethiopic list of canonical Scriptures between Judith and Esther.

The glory of Heliopolis has long since departed, as Jeremiah (43:13) predicted: "He shall break the images of Beth-shemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire." When Strabo visited the city twenty-four years before Christ, it was already a heap of ruins. Nothing remains now of Heliopolis but some traces of the massive walls, fragments of sphinxes, and an obelisk of red granite sixty-eight feet high, and bearing the name of Usertesen I., the second king of the twelfth dynasty. It reminded me of the lines of Uhland:

"Noch eine hohe Säule zeugt von verschwund'ner Pracht,
Auch diese, schon geborsten, kann stürzen über Nacht."

This obelisk is one of two which stood before the Temple of the Sun at the inner end of an avenue of sphinxes. It is, with the exception of a small obelisk which Lepsius discovered in the Necropolis of Memphis, the oldest obelisk extant. There it has been standing for nearly four thousand years, and there it still stands in solitary grandeur and unbroken silence. Had it a mouth to speak, it could tell of the visit of Abraham and Sarah, of the wisdom and purity of Joseph, the inquisitiveness of Herodotus, the sublime speculations of Plato, the mysteries of Egyptian learning and idolatry, the rise and fall of ancient

empires. The vandalism of travellers has hacked the base of this hoary monument with a sledge-hammer to steal some pieces. The bees have built their cells in the hieroglyphics of two sides and made them illegible.

Heliopolis is called in hieroglyphic inscriptions "the City of Obelisks," from the great number of these columns which once adorned its temples. They represented the rays of the sun, and were specially adapted to the worship of the sun and the City of the Sun. The two obelisks of Alexandria which are inappropriately called "the Needles of Cleopatra," stood originally in Heliopolis, whence they were removed in the reign of Tiberius. One of them has again been removed in our own days, and stands now in London, a monument of the earliest civilization in the centre of the latest. The obelisks of the Vatican, of the Lateran, and of the Porta del Popolo in Rome, are from the same city.

Obelisks may be called attenuated pyramids. They are square monolith columns of limestone, red granite or basalt, with a pyramidical apex, and hieroglyphic inscriptions recording the titles and praises of the royal builders, and the deity to which they were dedicated. They were erected in pairs before temples. The Egyptians cut them out of the solid rock, floated them on rafts or in boats down the Nile, and raised them by inclined planes on the place of their destination. The old Romans transported a number of them to Rome at an immense expense of labor.

About fifteen minutes' walk from Heliopolis is the venerable sycamore which is called "the Tree of the

Virgin," because Mary, according to the Coptic legend, rested there with Jesus after her flight from the wrath of Herod. It is certainly a most remarkable tree for its size and its gnarled and jagged appearance. The Khedive presented it, after the inauguration of the Suez Canal, to the French Empress Eugenie, who had it surrounded by an iron railing. The Roman-Catholics, however, assert that the real tree of the Virgin died in 1665, and they show its last fragments in their convent at Cairo. It is one of those superstitious legends which nobody can either prove or disprove.

Close by this tree is the so-called "Miraculous Fountain," which, according to the Coptic tradition, was once salt, but turned sweet when the Virgin Mary bathed the Holy Child in its waters. In the same region are the gardens where once flourished the balsam-tree which produced the famous Balm of Gilead. Now the cotton-plant is cultivated there.

Heliopolis reminds me of an amusing specimen of ignorance. A rich California gold-miner, who had some confused recollections of his Sunday-school lessons in early youth, and was travelling in Egypt with some friends, when informed that in this place Joseph got his wife, the daughter of a priest, was quite astonished, and indignantly asked, "Was *Mary Magdalene*, that married *Joseph*, the daughter of a priest?" The same gentleman, when crossing the Delta, remarked, "We shall soon pass the *Jordan*." "No," said his friend, "the Jordan is a river in Palestine." "You are right," he replied, "it was the *Danube* I meant!" I met this traveller in the

Mediterranean Hotel in Jerusalem, when he gave the company at the dinner-table the important piece of information that he had just visited Aceldama, "the famous place which Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver!" I felt quite ashamed of America, but was somewhat relieved afterward when I asked an English traveller whether he had passed through the Desert and visited Mount Sinai, and was told that he really did not remember, and "must first look up his journal!"

CHAPTER VII.

UP THE NILE.

The Nile—The Dahabeah and the Steamer—Our Company and Dragoman—Memphis and the broken Statue of Rameses II.—Sakkara—The Serapeum—The Temple of Tih—Gebel el-Tayr—Minieh and the Sugar-Factories—The Tombs of Beni-Hassan—Pictures and Hieroglyphics—Osirout—Dr. Hogg and the American Mission—A Mohammedan Saint—Abydos—The Tablet of Abydos—The Grave of Osiris—The Temples of Denderah.

THE Nile voyage, whether on the old-fashioned dahabeah or on a modern steamer, is a perpetual enjoyment and one of the best recreations for body and mind. It is "a boating-trip and a donkey-ride interspersed with ruins." There, better even than in Italy, you may enjoy *il dolce far niente*. Egypt is the land of sunshine and starlight, with a delicious climate. February and March are as pleasant as our May and June; and yet the summer is less oppressive there than in New York.

The Nile is truly a river of life. It spreads fertility and plenty east and west on its long course. No wonder that it was worshipped as a god. Herodotus calls Egypt "an acquired country and the gift of the Nile." This is as true now as it was three thousand years ago. Without this noble river the land would be as arid and barren

as Arabia. In the middle of July the water begins to rise, in consequence of the tropical rains and the melting of the snows on the mountains of equatorial Africa; in the early part of October it reaches its height, and sends its blessings through innumerable canals over the fields. The water has been called "the champagne of waters." The Nile is the Eastern "father of waters," "the high priest of rivers,"

"Whose waves have cast
More riches round them, as the current rolled
Through many climes its solitary flood,
Than if they surged with gold."

Invalids and those who have abundance of time prefer the dahabeah, which depends upon the wind and may require three months. But travellers who have but a few weeks to spare take the steamer, which makes the voyage from Cairo to the first Cataract and back in twenty days, and to the second Cataract from Wady-Halfa (or Halfeh) in twelve days more. The whole distance from Alexandria to the second Cataract is 964½ miles. The tourist Cook has chartered the steamers from the Khedive, and charges £47 (\$235) for the twenty days' trip, and £80 (\$400) for the thirty-two days' trip, including provisions and donkey-rides. Every ton of coal has to be brought from England. Some take the railroad as far as Osiout, and thence either the dahabeah or the steamer, gaining in this way nearly a week. But twenty days are not too much for a voyage which is fraught with unusual interest from beginning to end.

We start on the 6th of February and return on the

26th. Our company consists of forty-seven persons, English, Scotch, and Americans—clergymen, merchants, manufacturers, colonels, captains, two lords, and five ladies. We get along very pleasantly, though differing widely in taste and occupation. The physician of the ship is a Greek, and is more ornamental than useful ; he left all his medicine behind, and his services are never called for ; he takes part in every excursion, and tries to learn a little English. Our dragoman, Mohammed Ale-vah, a Moslem from Luxor, is intelligent, obliging, humorous, and amusing. He had in the same capacity accompanied the celebrated Egyptologist, Professor Lepsius of Berlin, Mr. Naville of Geneva, and many others. He speaks English fluently, although he cannot read it. Every morning at breakfast he unfolds the programme for the day with the introductory remark, "I beg your pardon, ladies and gentlemen, if you please." Some ladies of our company had a curiosity to see his wife and his bright boy, whom he intends to send to the old University of Cairo, and he gratified them when we arrived at Luxor.

The steamer stops at every place of interest. As soon as we arrive at a town, men, women, and children flock to the shore and cry for backsheesh. It is amusing to see them scramble and fight and dive into the Nile for the coppers thrown among them by passengers. The little donkeys with their big red saddles are ready to take us to the scene of interest, and the fleet, barefooted boys who have them in charge run in front or behind for miles without getting exhausted. These donkey-rides are very

exhilarating. The donkey is easily mounted; sometimes it stumbles and sends the rider gently over its head on the sand, or it slips from under him, to the amusement of his fellow-travellers.

The first excursion is made to MEMPHIS, over fertile fields and through stately palm-groves. The ancient capital of Lower Egypt, founded by the first king, Menes, is all desolation. Nothing is left of its temples, palaces, and monuments, but a colossal statue of Rameses II., lying mutilated on the face in the mud. What a satire on the great Sesostris, the conqueror of many lands, the master-builder of Egypt and the oppressor of the children of Israel! Thus the prophecy of Jeremiah (46:19) was literally fulfilled: "Noph (Memphis) shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant."

About two miles farther in the desert is SAKKARA, the necropolis of Memphis, the subterranean SERAPEUM with the colossal empty sarcophagi of the sacred bulls, eleven small pyramids, and the temple of TH, with most interesting and well-preserved frescoes that reveal in bright colors as of yesterday the life of ancient Egypt and the all-pervading power of kingcraft and priestcraft. An inspection of the remains of Egyptian bull-worship explains the ease with which the Israelites so soon after their departure took to the worship of the golden calf in the wilderness.

We resume the journey and pass the extensive limestone rock of Gebel el-Tayr, on the east bank of the river, and in sight of the famous Coptic convent, or, rather, village of priests and their wives, walled in against

the Bedawin. Descending from their precipice the monks used to swim to the steamers and dahabeahs to solicit alms on the ground of a common Christianity and humanity. The Coptic patriarch has recently forbidden this nuisance.

At MINIEH, the next stopping-place and one of the best-looking towns on the Nile, 156 miles from Cairo, we inspect an extensive sugar-factory of the Khedive, which looks almost like a profanation of old Egypt, but betokens a new epoch of material progress. The factories of the Khedive, however, so far are said to have been far from being profitable to him.

At BENI-HASSAN, which is 171 miles from Cairo, we inspect the famous rock tombs on a ridge of hills. They are cut in the rock, and devoted to noble men and women of the neighborhood from the age of the patriarchs. They present a vast gallery of fresco-pictures, some defaced and disfigured, some still fresh and setting forth in glowing colors the various scenes of ancient Egyptian life. In these mansions of the dead you see "men and women wrestling, fishing, ploughing and reaping, trapping birds, giving dinner-parties, being flogged, cutting their toenails, treading the winepress, dancing, playing the harp, weaving linen, playing at catchball, being shaved by the barber, playing at draughts. Verily, there is nothing new under the sun. . . . The old, old story of human life is there, told as in a picture-book. Though seen through a gap of four thousand years, the eye moistens over it still. Here are life's festive scenes and revels—the winecup and the garland; and here its scenes of sor-

row—mourners are weeping over their dead. Nothing is lacking. And so, by the mystic sympathy—that touch of nature which links man with man—you reach out a hand across the ages and feel the throbbings of a humanity kindred with your own.” Among these pictures is the famous procession of Asiatics, which is supposed by some to be the presentation of Joseph and his brethren to Pharaoh, or possibly a deputation of Israelites after their settlement in Goshen.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions tell of warlike expeditions, and are full of vain self-glorifications. Here is a specimen from the German translation by Brugsch.* Ameni, who died in the year 43 of the reign of King Usertesen I. (the builder of the Obelisk in Heliopolis), relates the story of his life on the door of entrance: “In honor of the governor of the province of Mah (here follow other titles), who has overcome (death). I accompanied my lord on his expedition to defeat the enemies of the country. . . . I entered the land Kasch (Kush of the Bible) up the river, and came to the extreme border of the country. I conducted the booty of my lord, and my praise reached to heaven when his holiness happily returned. He had defeated his enemies in the miserable land Kasch. . . . I was a kind lord, of mild disposition, a prince who loved his city. I spent many a year as prince in the province of Mah. All the labors for the king’s house were in my hands. The superintendents of the temples of the gods in the province of Mah gave me thousands of bulls and calves. . . . The whole province

* *Gesch. Ägyptens*, pp. 128–130.

labored for me. I oppressed no son of the poor, no widow. I expelled no owner of land, no shepherd. No one was unhappy in my time, no one hungry, not even in the years of famine," etc. The last and some following words seem to allude to the age of Joseph and the seven years of famine. But there are other more unmistakable allusions to Joseph and the famine in the tombs of El-Kab, which Brugsch has recently brought to light.*

On returning to the boat about fifty half-naked Arabs surround us, screaming and scrambling for backsheesh; the sheikh drives off the boys with dirt and catches the coppers himself, but the crowd return again and again like ravenous wolves, until the steamer sails at eleven o'clock. We pass high cliffs with natural caves, in one of which St. Athanasius is said to have hid himself in his flight from Arian persecution.

The same night or next morning we reach OSIOUT (or ASYOOT, SIOT), the capital of Upper Egypt, with about 30,000 inhabitants, and 250 miles from Cairo. It lies a mile west of the river. We pass through the Arab bazaar, and cannot ride nor walk through the curious medley without touching men, camels, and donkeys to the right and left. We visit the rock-tombs of the sacred wolves which were worshipped here (hence the ancient Greek name LYCOPOLIS, *i. e.*, WOLFSTOWN), and ascend the mountain behind the city, from which we enjoy a beautiful view over rich green fields and the yellow sand of the Lybian desert. Between the city and the mountain lies a large Arab cemetery, with shining

* *Gesch. Ägyptens*, p. 244, seq.

white monuments, better looking than the city of the living.

But the most interesting sight in Osiout is to me the large house and church of the American Presbyterian mission at the southern edge of the city. There we find the Rev. Dr. Hogg, a Scotchman, with his wife, Rev. Mr. Alexander of America, and two assistants, engaged in the noble and self-denying work of instructing Coptic boys and girls in the elements of education and the religion of the New Testament. The girls sing hymns and recite geography with great ease and cheerfulness. Dr. Hogg is a tall, intelligent, and energetic missionary, and has an excellent library, including such works as the American edition of Lange's Commentary, Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, Van Oosterzee's Dogmatics. His Protestant church is already self-supporting. He has also founded a theological school, where half a dozen young Copts are preparing for missionary work. This mission is a beaconlight of truth in the midst of surrounding Mohammedan and Coptic darkness, and a prophecy of a better future that dawns over Egypt.

Proceeding on our journey, between Girgeh and Dendera we see a strange specimen of Mohammedan asceticism; a reputed saint sitting in the sand on the banks of the Nile, unclothed even to indecency, surrounded by a dozen admirers. The sailors come up and kiss his hand. He is sunburnt, has gray hair, looks stupid, and says little. In this position he is said to have been for forty-five years. He almost comes up to the glory of Simeon Stylites, who in the fifth century spent six-and-thirty

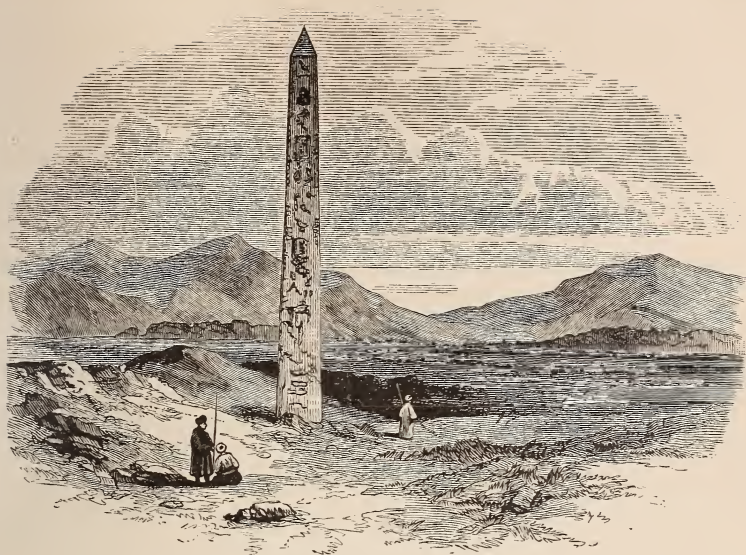
years on a pillar under the scorching Syrian sun, the drenching rain, the howling storm, preaching, praying, bowing, and vainly striving after superhuman perfection. Alfred Tennyson has graphically described his experience in a monologue to God.

By a donkey ride of six miles from Bellianeh, across fertile fields of grain and beans to the border of the desert, we reach *ABYDOS*. It is remarkable for its temple ruins, as the birthplace of Mena or Menes, the first Egyptian king, and as the burial place of Osiris, the chief Egyptian divinity. It was once second only to Thebes among the cities of that country. In the ruins of the temple of Sethi I. (the father of Rameses II.), we tarry before the magnificent pictures and sculptures, and the famous new *TABLET OF ABYDOS*, which was brought to light by the excavation of Mariette-Bey in 1865, and of which the old Tablet in the British Museum found in the neighboring temple of Rameses II. in 1818, is an imperfect copy. It presents Sethi the king, and Rameses the prince, offering, the one five, the other two rolls of hymns before the cartouches (shields or coats of arms enclosing hieroglyphic signs of royal names) of seventy-six kings, from Menes down to Sethi I. There are seventy-six cartouches, besides that of Sethi, which is often repeated in the lowest line. The historical value of this Tablet is very great. Brugsch counts from Mena (4400 B. C.) to Sethi I. of the nineteenth dynasty (1366 B. C.), 3,034 years. But the Egyptian chronology, according to his own confession, is still far from being satisfactorily settled, and may undergo serious modifications.

In about five minutes from this temple ruin we reach a mound of debris called Kom-es-Sultan, beneath which is the supposed tomb of Osiris. Mariette-Bey hopes to find it by excavation. It was to the ancient Egyptians as sacred as the church of the Holy Sepulchre is to the Greek and Latin Christians. Around it were myriads of tombs of rich Egyptians who wished to be buried near this chief god. Osiris was a mortal god who died and rose again. He, his wife and sister Isis, and their son and avenger Horus, the slayer of the evil spirit Typhon, form a sort of trinity in unity.

The next place of interest is the temple of DENDE-RAH (Tentyra), on the west bank of the Nile about sixty miles above Abydos. We cross the river in miserable boats, together with the donkeys. There are three temples there in a pretty good state of preservation. The great temple dedicated to Athor, the Egyptian Venus, was completed under Nero, and shows the influence of Greek and Roman art, but is nevertheless the most imposing temple-ruin this side of Karnak, and gives a good idea of an Egyptian sanctuary. The great hall has twenty-four columns, crowned with the heads of Isis and adorned with carvings and hieroglyphics. In the interior there are several chapels and chambers for the king, the priests, the treasury, the priestly vestments, the sacred animals, the preparation for festivals and processions. On the colossal pillars and walls there is a profusion of symbolical and astronomical representations, and pictures of the gods, and of serpents, which appear in every attitude, some walking on human legs, and offering

strange offerings to the deities. On the ceiling of the portico is a picture of the famous Zodiac, which was once thought to be very ancient, but cannot be older than the reign of Augustus. Outside on the wall is a statue of the voluptuous Queen Cleopatra, and her son by Julius Cæsar. The view from the terraced roof extends over Arab and Coptic houses, green fields, the Nile, and the chain of hills beyond towards the Red Sea.



THE OBELISK OF ON.



LUXOR: FROM THE NILE.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUXOR AND THEBES.

The Ancient Splendor of Thebes—The Temple and Obelisk of Luxor—A Fantasia—The Temple Ruins of Karnak—A Forest of Columns—The largest Obelisk—Shishak's Victory over Rehoboam—Thebes—The Temple of Koorneh—The Tombs of the Kings—The Rameseum—The Temple of Rameses III.—The Two Colossi.

AT Luxor the steamer stops three days, for here is the culmination of interest.

LUXOR, KARNAK, THEBES, are the three names for what was once the one city of Thebes (the Hekatompylos Thebe of Homer, the Diospolis of the later Greeks, the No or No-Ammon of the Old Testament), which in the days of its glory (1600 to 800 B. C.) stretched about thirty-three miles on both banks of the Nile. They are now a vast field of ruins and miserable Arab mud villages. The prediction of Jeremiah and Ezekiel that the city of No shall be "cut off" and "rent asunder," has been literally fulfilled. But the ruins which testify to her former splendor are the most enormous and imposing in the world, not excepting the ruins of Baalbek and the Colosseum in Rome. Those temples and rock-tombs are fully equal to the pyramids in the neighborhood of Memphis. The rock-tombs, intended for the same purpose of royal sepulchres, are more complicated and interesting.

At Thebes and Karnak you wander among the ruins of god-like men and human gods, the mysteries of kingcraft and priestcraft. We must admit that the old Egyptians were the masterbuilders of the world, and high above all the Pharoahs rose Sethi I. and Rameses II.

LUXOR lies close on the eastern bank. We see at once, before we land, the lofty colonnade of a vast temple, and the obelisk whose companion was transported to the Place de la Concorde in Paris under the reign of Louis Philippe. Our dragoman, who resides in Luxor, informs us that he saw it removed when a boy (in 1833) by 2,000 Arabs under 400 French officers. In striking contrast with these ruins are the wretched huts of the present inhabitants, except the residences of the English, American and German consuls. They are natives of the country, and very polite to strangers. Having nothing else to do, they show them the antiquities which they keep for sale, and invite them to evening entertainments, consisting of smoking, wretched Arab music, and strange dancing called a "fantasia."

An hour's ride from Luxor over a grassy plain brings us to the temple ruins of KARNAK, one of the greatest wonders of this land of wonders. An avenue of two hundred sphinxes, whose pedestals still remain, while the ram-heads are all broken off but one, leads to the southern entrance of the temple; similar avenues led to the other five entrances. The temple itself is nearly two miles in circumference, and is surrounded by walls of 80 feet height and 25 feet thickness. A magnificent portal or propylon, 370 feet broad, 140 feet high, opens into a

vast court, and there we are in a forest of 120 majestic columns, 66 feet high, 36 feet in circumference, surmounted by capitals and adorned with pictures and hieroglyphics. There too, surrounded by the Osiris pillars, is the largest obelisk known, being 92 feet high and 8 feet square, which (as we learn from an inscription) was once gilded from top to bottom and surmounted by a small pyramid of pure gold. One of the pictures on the walls is a war-scene of Rameses II., and Shishak's victory over the kings of more than thirty nations, including Rehoboam the son of Solomon (971 B. C.), which confirms the account in 1 Kings 14 : 25, 26, and 2 Chron. 12 : 2-9 : "So Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house ; he took all ; he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made." The figure of Rehoboam, which bears the inscription "The King of Judah," has a strong Jewish countenance.

THEBES, on the western bank of the Nile, was the necropolis of the whole city, and abounds in mummies of men and sacred animals and in imposing monuments which it would take many chapters to describe. There is the Temple of KOORNEH, reared by King Sethi to the memory of his father Rameses I.

There are the TOMBS OF THE KINGS of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, cut in the solid limestone rocks of a desolate, mysterious valley, and full of colored sculptures and fantastic paintings of strange jackal-headed gods, serpents, monsters, good and evil

spirits, dinner-parties, scenes of dancing, boating, fighting, hunting, and every-day life, and the mysteries of death, resurrection, and judgment. The tomb of Sethi I. reaches back 470 feet into the mountain, with a descent of 180 feet. These royal sepulchres or catacombs correspond in size, like the pyramids, to the length of the reign of the builders ; but, unlike the pyramids, which have but one chamber for the royal mummy, they represent, in many apartments and halls, as in the galleries of a great museum, the whole earthly life and surroundings of the king, and his fate in the other world. At the end of the galleries is his immense granite coffin, surrounded by rich pictures on the walls and ceiling. It is supposed by some that after the burial of the king, the tomb with its treasures of gold and art was closed, and never intended to be seen by mortal man, except the king himself at his resurrection. And yet, in spite of these precautions, no royal mummy has been discovered. Along the foot of the hills is one vast necropolis for the priests, high officers of state, and rich individuals. Nowhere out of Egypt can such a cemetery be found. The catacombs of Rome are poor and humble, like the early Christians in the times of persecution. The Theban catacombs are a subterranean city of palaces, with spacious halls and apartments, gorgeous decorations, and every sign of life that art can represent in fresh colors as of yesterday ; but life itself is gone, or turned into stone—hard, cold, yet silently eloquent stone.

We next visit the RAMESEUM, or MEMNONIUM, a truly wonderful temple, built by Rameses II. (Sesostris) to

perpetuate his conquests and glory. It is his autobiography in stones. His own granite statue is the most gigantic extant, but was overthrown by some catastrophe and mutilated by the Arabs, and represents the monarch in majestic repose towering above gods and men.

Then we come to the PALACE and TEMPLE of RAMESSES III., with its labyrinth of columns, courts, statues, historic, military, and domestic pictures and inscriptions.

Finally we see the two COLOSSI, or immense statues, before the propylon of the destroyed temple of Amenophis III., rising sixty feet above the sand. They are now mutilated, but "still keep their untiring watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt." One of them is the vocal Memnon so celebrated for its musical sounds, which it uttered when touched by the morning beams of the rising sun as a salutation of Amenophis to his mother Aurora.

The mind is overwhelmed by these stupendous monuments of the ancient history and religion of Egypt, and we gladly repair to the steamer for rest.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM LUXOR TO PHILÆ.

The Temple of Edfou—Assouan—Elephantine—Philæ—The First Cataract—Aboo Simbel—Return to Cairo.

AFTER Karnak and Thebes we do not expect to see anything so grand in architectural and sculptured ruins and petrified history. And yet the remainder of the voyage is full of interest.

We next visit the TEMPLE OF EDFOU, the best preserved and most complete in Egypt. It was built under the Ptolemies, requiring a period of 180 years, 3 months, and 14 days, from 237 to 57 B. C.* It stands in the middle of the village of that name, and was dug up from the rubbish by Mariette in 1864 under the direction of the Khedive. It is 450 feet long, the propylon 250 feet broad; the towers are 115 feet high, and can be ascended by 250 steps. It is surrounded by walls covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions. It affords the best idea of an Egyptian temple. It was not a place for a public congregation, but a sanctuary or sort of sacristy for kings and priests, a home for the gods, a depository of treasure and sacred vestments, a place of preparation for festivals and processions. The people were shut out.

ASSOUAN, the ancient SYENE, is 580 miles from Cairo,

* Brugsch, p. 258.

on the boundary between Egypt and Nubia. It is a very interesting town with about 4,000 inhabitants of different races. The Nubians attract most attention: they are almost naked, and as dark as our negroes, but better formed, more intelligent-looking, tall and slender. The women wear an apron decorated with shells, and, like Mother Eve, are, "unadorned, adorned the most." The bazaar presents a curious medley of races, with donkeys, camels, and merchandise, such as elephants' teeth, skins, ebony clubs, spears, lances, arrows, straw-baskets, coins, stuffed crocodiles, and ostrich feathers and eggs. Miss Martineau relates that a girl offered her an English half-penny for sale, and that her ear-trumpet was examined with quick curiosity and taken to be a pipe with an enormous bowl!

In the neighborhood of Assouan are the famous quarries which furnished materials for the statues, temples, pyramids, and palaces of the Pharaohs. "Islands, quarries, crags along the river side," says Dean Stanley, "all seem either like grotesque colossal figures, sitting with their grim features carved out against the sky, their vast limbs often smoothed by the inundations of successive ages, or else, like the same statues, broken to shivers. One can quite imagine how, in the days when power was will and will was power, Rameses, returning from his Ethiopian conquests, should say, 'Here is the stone, hard and glittering, from which my statue shall be hewn, and here is the model after which it shall be fashioned.'"

We must not miss seeing the famous obelisk in the quarry, half-finished and half-imbedded in the rock. It

is the youngest, as that of Heliopolis is the oldest, of the obelisks, and it will never be removed from its birthplace. We wonder at the mechanical powers with which such immense blocks of stone could be detached, dressed, lifted, and carried down the river, and then erected some hundreds of miles away from home.

The island of ELEPHANTINE, opposite Assouan and extending to the foot of the cataract, is no more an "Island of Flowers," but half-covered with rubbish, broken pottery, and a few ruins of a temple. The most interesting object there is a Nilometre to indicate the rise and fall of the divine river Nilus.

We leave Assouan by camel or donkey through the desert for PHILÆ and the FIRST CATARACT. This was the southern limit of the journey of Herodotus.

Philæ is a beautiful, flowery island of palm-trees and temple ruins above the cataract. By a judicious expense of capital and labor it might be made an *Isola Bella* or *Isola Madre*, with a delightful climate in winter. Ruins of temples of Osiris and Horus, with sculptures describing the death, burial, resurrection, and enthronement of Osiris, attract our attention. They date from the period of the Greek Ptolemies who restored the old Egyptian idolatry. Paganism lingered in this remote island many years after the edict of Theodosius.

A steamer is waiting to take a few passengers farther up the Nile through Nubia to the Second Cataract, to see the wonderful temple of Aboo Simbel, or Ipsamboul (170 miles south of Philæ), cut in the solid rock, with four statues of Rameses II., so colossal that his ear, mouth,



THE COLOSSI OF MEMNON: THEBES.



THE TEMPLE-FRONT OF ABOO SIMBEL.



nose, and every limb of his body has the size and weight of a separate statue. But we must forego this pleasure, and advise the reader to peruse the graphic description of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, who spent several days there.*

We return on the western side of the First Cataract. The Nile here widens into a lake with many islands of various fantastic formations and colors, and rushes foaming and roaring over the rocks of porphyry and granite. Naked Nubians shoot down the Cataract on blocks of wood for a few shillings. The passage down the river is made in a few days with few and short stoppages.

We have drunk from the Nile, feasted on ruins of temples and tombs, and communed with Rameses the Great, and with the greater Moses, his younger contemporary and antagonist; and we arrive in Cairo enriched with a photographic gallery of the wonders of old Egypt.

* *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile. Being a Journey through Egypt and Nubia to the Second Cataract.* London, 1877.

CHAPTER X.

EGYPTOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

"And Jesus answered and said, I tell you that, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out." LUKE 19:40.

Sources of Knowledge of Ancient Egypt—The Pentateuch, Manetho, Herodotus—The Monuments and Hieroglyphic Inscriptions—The Papyri—Champollion, Young, Brugsch, Birch—Egypt and the Pentateuch—The Works of Hengstenberg, Ebers, Vigouroux—Egyptian and Biblical Chronology—Abraham's Visit—Joseph in Egypt—Moses and Pharaoh—Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression—Menephtha I., the Pharaoh of the Exodus—General Results—Egyptian History and Bible History.

TILL quite recently, our knowledge of ancient Egypt was confined to three scanty sources.

1. The Pentateuch, and occasional allusions in later books of the Old Testament.

2. The remains of Manetho, a priest under the reign of the first two Ptolemies (between 300 and 250 B. C.), who wrote in Greek a history of the Pharaohs from the sacred records of Heliopolis. Some fragments of it and a catalogue of thirty royal dynasties from Menes down to Nectanebo, 343 B. C., have been preserved through Josephus ("against Apion"), Julius Africanus ("Chronographia," A. D. 220, indirectly through Syncellus, A. D. 800), and Eusebius ("Chronicon.")*

* The remains of Manetho and other ancient authorities are conveniently printed in the first volume of Chevalier Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in*

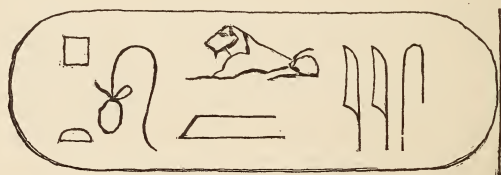
3. The accounts of Greek travellers, who visited Egypt, Herodotus (B. C. 454), Diodorus Siculus (B. C. 58), and Strabo (about B. C. 30). Herodotus was not a critical historian, but a story-teller, who believed and told what he saw and heard with the simplicity of a child, without raising the question of veracity. Yet he was no holiday traveller; he had an intense curiosity, and gathered a vast deal of information, which has been partly verified by modern research. The information of Plutarch and the elder Pliny on Egyptian matters is derived from secondary sources, but the former gives an instructive account of the worship of Isis and Osiris.

These sources of information have been greatly enlarged in the present century, by the study of monumental inscriptions and papyrus rolls. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt had a similar effect upon Europe as Alexander's victories had upon Asia; both brought the East and the West into closer contact, enlarged the sphere of knowledge, and stimulated progress. The Egyptians were most industrious scribes, and their literature, though far behind the Greek and Roman in genius and general interest, is very extensive in theology, government, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and poetry, except the drama.

The hieroglyphic, the shorter hieratic, and the popular demotic inscriptions on temple walls, tombs, and pyramids, in pictures and sculptures, were a sealed book

Universal History, translated from the German by Cottrell (London, 1848), pp. 605-731, and in the Synoptical Tablets appended to the *Königsbuch* of Prof. Lepsius (Berlin, 1858).

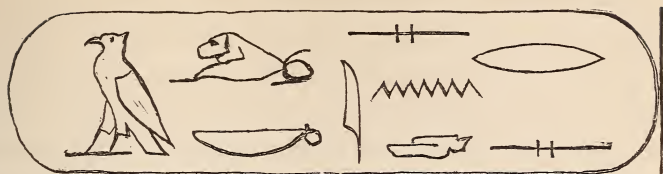
till the accidental discovery of the famous Rosetta stone (1799), thirty-six miles east of Alexandria, by a French officer of artillery. It is an oblong square slab of black syenitic basalt, now in possession of the British Museum, and contains a triple inscription, namely, a decree of the priests in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the Egyptian language (both in hieroglyphic and demotic characters), together with a Greek translation. By means of this translation, and with the aid of the Coptic or old Egyptian language, it was possible to construct the hieroglyphic alphabet and to interpret the inscription. The name of King *Ptolemy*, which, like all the royal names, is enclosed in an elliptical frame or cartouch, gave the first clew to the alphabet. Another bilingual inscription, with the cartouch of *Cleopatra* (which has five sounds in common with *Ptolemaios*) was afterwards discovered on a small obelisk at Philæ. The cartouch of *Alexander* aided in a similar manner.



"PTOLEMAIOS."



"CLEOPATRA."



"ALEXANDER."

The hieroglyphic signs are partly ideographic or pictorial, partly phonetic. A French Egyptologist, Jean François Champollion (b. 1790, d. 1832), and a learned English physician, Thomas Young (1816), independently and almost simultaneously led the way in the deciphering of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The results are summed up in a complete hieroglyphic and demotic dictionary and grammar by the English Egyptologist, Samuel Birch (in the 5th volume of Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*, pp. 335-716), and by the German Egyptologist, H. Brugsch (1867).

The Papyrus rolls were discovered in tombs and mummies, and transferred to the Egyptian museums in Boulak, Turin, London, Paris, Berlin, Leyden. The most important are the Turin Papyrus (published by Lepsius 1842 and 1858); the list of kings from the Temple of Abydos (published by De Rougé and Mariette, 1864); the Papyrus Rollin (edited by Pleyte, 1868); the Papyrus Ebers (1873), of the seventeenth century before Christ, and the Papyrus Harris, published by Birch, which contains the chief contribution to the history of Rameses III.

From all these sources modern French, German, and

English scholars have endeavored to construct a consecutive chronological history of ancient Egypt.*

The history of Egypt is not an unbroken current. It is a monotonous, dreary waste, like the desert, with a few prominent kings and events. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are filled with figures of kings worshipping animal gods, strange names, high-sounding titles, and eulogies of kings and governors, their victories and meritorious deeds. The people are simply a mass of nameless slaves, used as machines in war and in peace.

The readers of this book will feel a special interest in the bearings of the latest Egyptological researches upon Bible history.

The relation of Egypt and the Pentateuch has been chiefly discussed by two Protestant scholars—the late Dr. Hengstenberg of Berlin, in his book, *Die Bücher Moses und Ägypten* (1841), and Dr. Ebers of Leipzig, in his *Ägypten und die Bücher Moses* (Vol. I., 1868).† The titles are characteristic. Hengstenberg, the theologian, writing in the apologetic interest, puts the Pentateuch

* We mention especially the elaborate works of Samuel Sharpe (*Early History of Egypt*, London, 1836, 2 vols.), Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, 5 vols., first in German, then in English, London, 1848 to 1867), Prof. Lepsius (*Chronologie der Ägypter*, Berlin, 1849; *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 1856; *Das Königsbuch*, 1858; *Das Todtenbuch*, etc.), and Dr. Brugsch-Bey (*Histoire d'Égypte*, Leipzig, 1859, and his more recent *Geschichte Ägyptens unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877, which is based almost entirely on the dismembered monumental records).

† The second volume has not yet appeared, but his work *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, may be regarded in part as a continuation, as it discusses the period of the oppression and of the Exodus of the Israelites,

first, and treats the Egyptian historian Manetho with contempt; Ebers, the Egyptologist, with a purely historical aim in view, puts Egypt first, and regards the Pentateuch from the Egyptian point of view, allowing due credit to Manetho; yet both come substantially to the same conclusion as to the genuine egypticity of the Bible records on Egypt, in opposition to the older Rationalists. "The history of Joseph," says Ebers, "even in its details, is thoroughly consistent with the true relations of ancient Egypt" (Preface, p. 12). Still more recently a Roman-catholic scholar, F. Vigouroux, has attempted a complete vindication of the Bible history from the modern Egyptian and Assyrian discoveries, beginning with the account of Creation and ending with the Exodus, and a discussion of the Hebrew doctrine of immortality.*

There are four points of contact between the history of ancient Egypt and the Bible history of Israel: the chronology, the visit of Abraham, the history of Joseph, and the Exodus under Moses. After the Exodus Egypt is not mentioned in the Bible till the time of Solomon, who married a daughter of Pharaoh and brought her into the city of David (1 Kings 3: 19).

* *La Bible et les découvertes modernes en Egypte et en Assyrie.* Par F. VIGOUROUX, *prêtre de Saint-Sulpice*. Paris, 1877, 2 vols. This is a learned and valuable work, but is disfigured by an attack on Protestantism, which the author makes responsible for rationalism and infidelity. He begins a preliminary history of German rationalism with the unjust remark, "Le rationalisme biblique est le fils de Luther" (p. 7). The defence of the supernatural revelation of the Bible should be the common task of Catholics and Protestants, and in fact Vigouroux draws his best material for defence from Protestant scholars of Germany.

I. THE CHRONOLOGY.

The chronology of Egypt seems irreconcilable with the traditional views on the chronology of the Bible. But both chronologies are still in a state of confusion, and cannot be satisfactorily settled with our present means of information.

The Egyptians, like the Babylonians, Indians, and Chinese, were extravagant in their claim to antiquity. The priests who informed Herodotus four hundred and fifty years before Christ, claimed at that time an age of 341 generations, or more than 11,000 years, for their nation, from their first King Menes to Sethos (Sethi), during which "no god had ever appeared in a human form" (II., 142); and beyond this Menes are the mythical ages of the gods. Some take Menes himself to be a mythical being, a personification of the two Misrs (the Hebrew Mizraim), or provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Egyptians themselves never had any chronology, and only numbered the years of each reign of a king. The dynastic lists and figures of Manetho have come down to us in a fragmentary and mutilated state, and in two widely-different recensions, through Eusebius and Africanus (as given by Syncellus, who lived in the age of Charlemagne). They differ again from a chronological fragment of Eratosthenes, to which Bunsen gives the preference as far as it goes. They are partly confirmed, but also partly proved worthless (as Brugsch asserts) by monumental records. Manetho's reigns and even his dynasties cannot all be successive, but some of

them must be synchronous, in accordance with certain monumental inscriptions and with the natural division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt. Manetho himself speaks of contemporary "kings of Thebais and of the other provinces of Egypt," and the monuments represent one king meeting another, and mention the years of one king's reign corresponding with those of another. This fact at once greatly reduces the five thousand or more years which the champions of successive dynasties suppose to have elapsed between Menes and Alexander the Great. Besides, it is impossible on either theory to ascertain the precise length of the several reigns. In the first eighteen dynasties not one solitary date has been fixed with certainty. Brugsch allows to each Pharaoh an average of thirty-three years, or only three reigns in a century; while others, with greater probability, diminish the average length of reigns one-half. Accordingly the Egyptologists vary in their estimates over 3,000 years.

The first Pharaoh, Menes, or Mena, began to reign,

According to Bœckh	-----	B. C.	5702.
"	" Unger	"	5613.
"	" Mariette and Lenormant	"	5004.
"	" Brugsch I.	"	4455.
"	" Brugsch II.	"	4400.
"	" Chabas	"	4000.
"	" Lepsius and Ebers	"	3892.
"	" Bunsen (earlier view)	"	3623.
"	" Bunsen (later view)	"	3039.
"	" Birch	"	3000.
"	" Poole	"	2700.
"	" Wilkinson	"	2691.
"	" G. Rawlinson	"	2450.

The latest writers on the subject, who widely differ in their views, frankly admit that Egyptian chronology is still utterly uncertain and needs reconstruction.* We must therefore wait for further light and a better agreement among Egyptologists.

And as to the Bible chronology, theologians are still divided between the long system of the Septuagint, which would put the creation of man 5400 years before Christ (Hales 5400, Jackson 5426), and the short system of the Hebrew text, which brings it down fourteen hundred years later (Usher 4004 B. C., Petavius 3983 B. C.). There is no agreement till we come down to the age of Solomon (1000 B. C.).

Fortunately religion and the authority of the Bible do not depend on chronology, any more than on astronomy or geology or any other science.

II. ABRAHAM'S VISIT TO EGYPT (Gen. 12: 10-20).

This visit was brief and occasioned by a famine. The friendly reception of Abraham, a Semitic nomade, and the use of camels (ver. 16), which do not appear on the early monuments of Egypt, suggest that the visit took place under the reign of one of the Hyksos or Semitic Shepherd kings (fourteenth to seventeenth dynasty), but

* Brugsch, in the Preface to his *Geschichte Äg. unter den Pharaonen*, and R. Stuart Poole, in the Art. *Egypt* in the 7th vol. of the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed. Canon Rawlinson (*The Origin of Nations*, Lond. 1878, pp. 17-31) puts the establishment of a settled Egyptian monarchy and civilization between B. C. 2450 and B. C. 2250. This would make it quite compatible with the Septuagint chronology, which dates the Deluge anterior to B. C. 3000.

some put it earlier, in the beginning of the twelfth dynasty. In this record we first meet the name of Pharaoh, which is used in the Scriptures and on the monuments as a generic name for king, as we use "Czar" for the emperor of Russia, and the "Sublime Porte" for the government of the Sultan.*

The brief description of the visit of Abraham agrees well with all that is known of the age of the Pharaohs in that remote period. The objection of Von Bohlen that no horses are mentioned among the presents of Pharaoh to Abraham (ver. 12, 16), is turned into an argument for the historicity of the account by the fact that no horse appears on monuments prior to the period of the Hyksos, while at a later period the Bible often mentions Egyptian horses (Gen. 47 : 17 ; Exod. 9 : 3 ; Deut. 17 : 16 ; 1 Kings 10 : 28). The fear of Abraham lest he be deprived of Sarah by Pharaoh and be slain for her sake, derives confirmation from several documents which show that the despots of Egypt were capable of such conduct even in the time of their highest civilization. According to the story of "The Two Brothers"—the earliest Egyptian fiction extant from the age of Rameses II., found in the Papyrus d'Orbiney in the British Museum—the Pharaoh of the time sent two armies to capture a beautiful woman and to murder her husband. In another ancient

* The word *Pharaoh*, *Pi-rao*, was formerly derived from the Egyptian article *Pi* or *Ph*, and the Coptic *Ouro*, i. e., *king* (Jablonski) ; or from *Pi* and *Ra*, the Sun-god, whom the king of Egypt represented (Rossellini, Lepsius, etc.) ; but according to the latest view it means "the Great House," and is equivalent to the Turkish designation, "the Sublime Porte" (De Rougé, Brugsch, Ebers). See Ebers, pp. 263-265 ; Brugsch, p. 582.

papyrus of the twelfth dynasty, preserved in Berlin, it is stated that the wife and children of a foreigner were confiscated by the king as a matter of course. The favorable reception of Abraham is illustrated by the picture in one of the tombs of Beni Hassan, which represents the arrival and distinguished reception of a Semitic nomad chief with his family and dependants seeking the protection of the governor of the province under Usertesen II.

III. JOSEPH IN EGYPT. Gen. 37—50.

The whole inimitable story of Joseph, as related in the last chapters of Genesis, his sale as a slave, his temptation by the unfaithful wife of Potiphar, his imprisonment on a false charge, the dreams of the butler and baker, the two dreams of Pharaoh and their interpretation, the subsequent elevation of the patriarch and his family, are shown by Ebers to be thoroughly Egyptian. It might have been written by Joseph himself, and incorporated with many other documents by the author or compiler of Genesis.

Many inscriptions speak of weighty dreams of the Pharaohs, which were traced to the inspiration of the gods. The occupations of butler and baker are pictured on monuments. Seven was a sacred number with the Egyptians, as well as the Hebrews, and often appears in the Book of the Dead, the Papyrus Harris, and other documents. The cow is the symbol of Athor, the goddess of fertility (*Venus Genetrix*), who is represented with a cow's head. Fertility and sterility, plenty and famine, depended then as now upon the rise of the Nile,

from which the seven cows of the dream of Pharaoh ascend.

One of the oldest papyri translated by Goodwin, relates the story of a foreigner raised to the highest rank at the court of Pharaoh. Brugsch (p. 246) discovered an inscription in the tombs of Baba at El-Kab from the age of Joseph, and finds an unmistakable allusion to the seven years of famine in these words; "I gathered grain, a friend of the god of harvest. I was watchful at the seed-time. And when a famine arose through many years, I distributed the grain through the town in every famine." Brugsch thinks that there cannot be the least doubt that the "many years" refer to the historical fact of the seven years' famine at the time of Joseph, the only one of such a long duration recorded in history.*

These and similar coincidences are independent of the age to which we assign Joseph.

IV. THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES.

We need not be surprised that the monuments of Egypt are silent concerning the miracles of Moses and the national calamity and humiliation which overtook the king and his army in pursuit of a despised race. They mention the victories, but rarely any defeat of the Egyptians.† The Hebrews, however, are mentioned in

* Ebers, in his article *Egypten* in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* (1876), p. 330, seq., is not so positive about this reference, but deems it very probable.

† "*Il n'est pas à penser,*" says De Rougé (as quoted by Vigouroux, II., p. 297), "*que les Egyptiens aient jamais consigné ni le souvenir des plaies, ni celui de la catastrophe terrible de la Mer Rouge; car leurs monuments ne consacrent que bien rarement le souvenir de leurs défaites.*"

Egyptian papyri under the name of "Aperiu," or are included under the name of "foreigners" or "lepers." There remain also pictures and inscriptions which represent Jews as making and piling bricks under the threatening lash of Egyptian taskmasters, in confirmation of Exod. 1:14. Dr. Ebers relates that he saw in Goshen, at Mashûta, near a monument of granite bearing the name of Rameses II., bricks made by Hebrews, some with straw, and some without (Exod. 5:7).*

Josephus, the church fathers and older divines, assumed that the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, who, according to Manetho, ruled 511 years over Egypt,† were the Israelites, and that their expulsion by the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty was the Egyptian version of the Exodus. But this view is now mostly given up as untenable. For the vain-glorious Egyptians would never have admitted, without necessity, their dependence upon a despised race of foreigners. The Bible knows nothing of a *Jewish* dynasty of rulers over Egypt; even Joseph was only the chief servant of Pharaoh, and his descendants were held in bondage. The Hyksos and the Israelites, though of the same Semitic race, must be distinguished, and the Exodus be put after the expulsion of the former. Zoan (Tanis, the Arabic San), the capital of the Shepherd kings, in the northeastern section of Egypt, was built seven years after Hebron (Num. 13:22),

* *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 75, seq., 520, seq. Some of these bricks are in the Berlin Museum.

† But the estimates of the length of the Shepherd domination vary from 260 to 953 years. See Rawlinson, *The Origin of Nations*, pp. 27 and 31.

that is, before the time of Abraham. Manetho caricatures the Exodus of the Israelites as an expulsion of lepers and rebels, and distinguishes it from the expulsion of the Hyksos.

Who then was the new king of Egypt who "knew not Joseph" (Exod. 1:8), who inflicted heavy burdens upon the Israelites, and commanded them to build "for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Exod. 1:11)? And who was the Pharaoh who perished with his army in the Red Sea (ch. 14)? In other words, who was the Pharaoh of the oppression under whom Moses was born and educated; and who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus under whom Moses, being then eighty years old, received his divine commission and delivered his people from bondage? On this question the Egyptologists are divided between two opinions, some putting the events under consideration in the eighteenth, others in the nineteenth dynasty.

1. Amosis, or Aahmes I., the first sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty (B. C. 1706, or, according to others, 1525), is the Pharaoh of the oppression; Thothmes or Tutmes II., about a century later, is the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This is the view advocated by Canon Cook* and formerly by Reginald Stuart Poole.†

Amosis captured Zoan, expelled the Hyksos, and united the country under one crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. He would therefore be likely to oppress and

* In the first excursus to the "Speaker's Commentary" on Exodus, p. 443, seq.

† In Article *Egypt* in the 8th edition of the "Encycl. Brit.," Vol. VII.; but in the 9th edition, Vol. VII. (1877), p. 740, Poole gives up this view.

enslave the Israelites who lived in that most fertile district. But why did he not drive them out together with the Hyksos, who were of the same race and ruled in the same district?

The reign of Thothmes II. was short and inglorious, and his death was followed by a general revolt of the confederated nations which had been conquered by his father (Thothmes I.). He was married to his more energetic sister Hatasou, who succeeded him as Queen Regnant. No attempt was made to recover the lost ascendancy of Egypt until her younger brother, Thothmes III., in the latter part of his long reign of forty-six years (1510 to 1556 B. C.), completely subdued Syria and Mesopotamia to the banks of the Tigris, shortly before the date when, according to this hypothesis, the Israelites entered the land of promise.

But would this conqueror, in his march to and from Syria, not have attacked the hated Israelites in the wilderness? And would he have allowed them to occupy Canaan? Is the great prosperity of Egypt and its supremacy in Western Asia, which followed the reign of Thothmes III., compatible with the permanent possession of Canaan by the Israelites? Would such a king as Rameses II., had he lived after the Exodus, have left Palestine untouched in his irresistible march of conquest over the continent of Asia? And would he not have erected there, as elsewhere, his monumental pillars of victory, some of which Herodotus saw "still standing in the part of Syria called Palestine"?* Canon Cook has

* Book II., ch. 106.

done his best to answer some of these questions, but without success ; and Poole has recently changed his view in favor of the Rameses theory.

2. Rameses II., the third sovereign of the nineteenth dynasty, is the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his son Mernephthah, or Menephthah, is the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This is the view adopted by the majority of recent Egyptologists—De Rougé, Chabas, Lenormant, Vigouroux, among the French ; Bunsen, Lepsius, Ebers, Brugsch, among the Germans.* It brings down the Exodus to about B. C. 1317.

Rameses II. is the Sesostris of the Greeks, who blended him into one person with his father Sethi I.† He

* Brugsch (in his last work, p. 549) speaks very confidently : “The new Pharaoh, who knew nothing of Joseph, who founded and adorned the capital of the district of Tanis, and the city of Pi-tum, the capital of the district afterwards called Sethroïtes, with temples, is no other, *can be no other* than Rameses II., of whose buildings at Zoan the monuments and papyrus-rolls speak in perfect harmony. . . . He is the Pharaoh of the oppression, the father of that unnamed royal daughter who found the child Moses on the banks of the river.” Vigouroux is equally confident, l. c., pp. 204, seq.

† Wilkinson, in commenting on Herod. II. 102 (in Rawlinson’s *History of Herodotus*, II. 144), remarks : “The original Sesostris was the first king of the twelfth dynasty, Osirtasen, or Sesortasen I., who was the first great Egyptian conqueror ; but when Osirei, or Sethi (Sethos), and his son Rameses II. surpassed the exploits of their predecessor, the name of Sesostris became confounded with Sethos, and the conquests of that king and his still greater son were ascribed to the original Sesostris. This explains the assertion of Dicæarchus, that Sesostris was the successor of Horus, mistaken for the god, but really the last king of the eighteenth dynasty. For those two kings did succeed Horus (the reign of Rameses I., the father of Sethi, being so short as to be overlooked), and their union under one name, Sesostris, is accounted for by Rameses II. having ruled conjointly with his father during the early and principal part of his reign. Mr. Poole very properly suggests that Manetho’s ‘Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥεμέσσης,’

ruled sixty-seven years (B. C., 1388 to 1322*), at first as co-regent with his father, whose name he afterwards erased from the monuments. He had many wives and concubines, and one hundred and nineteen children (fifty-nine sons and sixty daughters), whose pictures and names are preserved on a temple-wall at Abydos. He represents the highest power and glory of ancient Egypt. He was the great conqueror and builder who spread himself all over his empire, and covered it with monuments of self-glorification.† He was among the Pharaohs what Louis XIV. and Napoleon were among the rulers of France. He is the central figure that meets us in the colossal statues and innumerable cartouches and bas-reliefs among the ruins of Tanis, Memphis, Abydos, Thebes, Luxor, Karnak, Aboo Simbel, in the Syenite torso of the British Museum, and in the obelisk of the Place de la Concorde in Paris. There is scarcely a ruin in Egypt and Nubia that does not record the memory of his conquests and his insatiable passion for building. "His name," says Dr. Ebers, "may be read to-day on a hundred monuments in Goshen." He is called on the mon-

should be 'Σ . . καὶ 'Ρ . .' This is required also by the length of their reigns (that of the second Rameses being from sixty-three to sixty-six years), and by the age of Rameses; and the sculptures at Karnak show that he accompanied his father in his early campaigns. It seems too that in the first Sesostris two kings, Osirtasen I. and III., were comprehended; as several were under the name of Mœris."

* The Egyptologists differ. Lepsius dates his reign from B. C. 1388, Brugsch from 1407, Mariette from 1405, Bunsen from 1352, Poole from 1283.

† Maspero (*Hist. Ancienne*, p. 225) calls him "le roi constructeur par excellence," Zincke (*Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Khedive*, p. 125), "the most magnificent and prolific architect the world has ever seen."

uments "the bull powerful against Ethiopia, the griffin furious against the negroes." He fought a single-handed fight against overwhelming odds in the presence of both armies. "He traversed," says Herodotus (II. 102 and 103), "the whole continent of Asia, and conquered every people which fell in his way." He also, according to the same authority, proceeded in a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian gulf to the mouths of the Indus. Crossing to Europe, he subdued Scythia and Thrace, erecting everywhere pillars of victory with his own name. We cannot think without horror of the immense sacrifice of human life which these conquests and buildings required. Almost every stone was reared with blood. And all this to gratify the pride and vanity of an absolute despot! The pride of Rameses towered to the height of the gods. His statues have superhuman proportions, his face more than Egyptian beauty. All his works are self-glorifications. His courtiers and wives are represented as performing acts of adoration before him.

Among his many structures mentioned on the monuments and in papyri, are fortifications along the canal from Goshen to the Red Sea, and especially at Pi-Tum and Pi-Rameses, or Pi-Ramessu. These must be the same with "the treasure cities Pithom and Raamses," which the Israelites built or enlarged for Pharaoh, according to Exod. 1:11. For "treasure cities" (*mische-noth*) are magazines or dépôts of ammunition and provision. The city of Rameses, Pi-Rameses, named for him, was perhaps only a new name for the old city of Tanis—the biblical and hieroglyphic Zoan (the modern Arabic San), on

a branch of the Nile, where Moses was probably born and where he certainly performed his miracles (compare *Psa.* 78:12, 43).* It was the capital of a rich district and a frequent residence of King Rameses, where he held a magnificent court, reviewed his army, and from which he started on his victorious expeditions against the nations of Western Asia. Recent excavations at San or Zoan have brought to light many monumental inscriptions, ruins of brick houses, and an immense temple with twelve obelisks, also a colossal statue of Rameses II., seated between two gods, which has been transferred to the museum at Boulak.

What is more natural than that such a powerful despot and passionate builder should employ the Hebrews on the borders of his empire in hard work to make them harmless during his absence? It is expressly stated, *Exod.* 1:10, that Pharaoh was afraid the Hebrews might join his enemies and fight against him. But we have more direct proof. The Hebrews are mentioned under the Egyptian name *Aperiu* (or *Apuriu*) in several official reports (on the Leyden papyri), two of which are certainly from the reign of Rameses II. They are described there as persons who, together with the soldiers, were employed in drawing stones for the fortified enclosure of

* Brugsch identifies Rameses with Tanis. See his Address before the International Congress of Orientalists in London, *L'exode et les monuments égyptiens* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 22-24. Poole adopts this view in *Art. Egypt* in *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. VII. (9th ed.). Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872, pp. 500, seq.) distinguishes two cities of that name, Rameses-Tunis, and Rameses-Machûta, the latter being situated farther south on the old canal of the Pharaohs.

Pi-Rameses, and to whom their rations of corn were delivered.* Brugsch (p. 563) mentions also as a remarkable fact that one hundred years after his death, under the reign of his nephew Rameses III., the name *Ḥ-en-Mosche*, i. e., "the island of Moshe," or "the bank of Moshe," occurs among the towns of Middle Egypt. And among the daughters of Rameses II. is one called *Meri*, probably the same with Princess *Merris*, who, according to Jewish tradition and Eusebius, saved Moses.†

Menephthah I.‡ was the thirteenth son of Rameses and began to rule probably B. C. 1325 or 1322. He marks a period of decline, in which the conquests of his two great predecessors were gradually and ingloriously lost. Few monuments were erected in his reign, and even his father's tomb was left unfinished. This is just what we would expect after the catastrophe in the Red Sea. He was buried in his tomb at Biban-el-Moluk, but this may have been a mock burial.§ It is also mentioned that Menephthah lost a son who is named on a monument of Tanis, and Brugsch connects this fact with the death of the first-born; but on this not much stress can be laid.

* See a translation of these reports in Ebers, l. c., p. 502.

† She is also called *Thermutis*. Ebers thinks that she was a daughter of Sethi I. and the sister and wife of Rameses II. *Durch Gosen*, etc., pp. 83 and 525.

‡ Ebers spells the name Merneptah. The copyists of Manetho differ; the usual form is Menephthes, or Menephthah. See Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, etc., p. 522.

§ The Mosaic narrative does not expressly say that Pharaoh himself perished in the sea, but this is almost necessarily implied in the words "not one of them remained" (Ex. 14: 28), and is asserted in Psa. 106: 11. The Egyptian monuments always represent the king at the head of his army.

Of more importance is another fact. Herodotus tells us (II. c. 111), that the son and successor of Sesostris whom he calls Pheron (probably the famous Pharaoh of the Hebrew record at the time of the Exodus) undertook no warlike expeditions, and was smitten with blindness for ten years because "he impiously hurled his spear into the overflowing waves of the river which a sudden wind caused to rise to an extraordinary height." This reads like a confused reminiscence of the disaster in the Red Sea. I am surprised that this striking confirmation from the Greek historian seems to have escaped the attention of the writers whom I have consulted.

The only serious difficulty in this view is the chronological. For if Menephthah's reign began B. C. 1325, we have less than 315 years between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's temple (B. C. 1010). From these must be deducted 40 years for the sojourn in the wilderness, 25 years for the period of Joshua, 40 for the reign of Saul and 40 for that of David, which leaves us not more than about 170 years (instead of 330) for the period of the Judges. But the uncertainties of Egyptian and Hebrew chronologies deprive the objection of decisive weight.

Whatever view we take of the Pharaohs of the age of Moses, it must be admitted that the latest Egyptological discoveries and researches are not in conflict, but can be harmonized with the Mosaic accounts, and even confirm and illustrate them in all their allusions to the country and people of ancient Egypt. This confirmation is all the more convincing because it is incidental and unde-

signed. The Bible has nothing to fear from Egyptology. And as to the history of the Pharaohs and the history of Israel there can be no comparison. The one is a barren desert, with some lofty peaks and brackish fountains, the other a garden full of unfading flowers and ripe fruit for the enjoyment and use of all nations and ages.

CHAPTER XI.

ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPT COMPARED.

Egypt the Old House of Bondage under New Masters—The Pharaohs and the People—Character of Egyptian Art compared with that of Ancient Greece—Mohammed Ali and Isma il Pasha—Present Condition of the People—Reform and .Ruin—Annexation to England—The Cross and the Crescent.

THE Bible calls Egypt “the house of bondage.” This is as true now as it was in the time of Moses. Its ancient ruins and the present condition of the people alike confirm it. Kingcraft and priestcraft in possession of all intelligence and power used the people as beasts of burden and mechanical tools in the times of the Pharaohs, and so use them under the present Khedive. Modern Egypt is simply “the old house of bondage under new masters.”

Temples and tombs meet the traveller day after day on the banks of the Nile. It is a valley of sepulchres and mummies, of animal gods and animal men. The traveller is kept vacillating between admiration for the grandeur of the monuments, and contempt for the absurdity of the idolatry which inspired their erection. It seems inconceivable that a nation possessed of such skill in all the arts of design could be devoted to the worship of beasts and reptiles. St. Paul had them in view when

he speaks of wise fools who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image of corruptible man and birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things. In the days of Herodotus it was easier to find a god on the Nile than a man; and in honor of these gods, half men, half beasts, or all beasts, the Egyptians constructed their greatest works of art. They built as magnificent tombs and sarcophagi for their sacred bulls at Sakkara as for their kings of Thebes. If the worshippers of beetles and cats, of bulls and crocodiles could do so much, how much more should the worshippers of the true God be able and willing to do? But the noblest monuments of the Christian faith are constructed of better material than granite and marble. A single church, or university, or orphan-house, does more good to the bodies and souls of men than all the temples of Egypt. These were only intended for kings and priests, and were closed by their outer walls against the multitude.

The stupendous proportions and the hoary antiquity of the temples, pyramids, and rock-tombs, constitute their chief attraction. The ruins of Gheezeh, Karnak, Luxor, Thebes, Denderah, Edfou, and Aboo Simbel, defy our notions of strength and sublimity, and excite our amazement at the mechanical skill which could remove from the quarries of Syene, transport and pile up such enormous masses of stone. Only absolute command over unlimited time and unlimited labor could do it. The explanation is a sad comment on despotic power. The Pharaohs forced thousands and millions of human beings, subjects and captives of war, like so many camels and

donkeys, into the service of their vanity and folly, without any reward for their toil and labor.

Moreover, grand and imposing as is the design, and admirable as is the execution, there is after all no real beauty and grace in the Egyptian works of architecture, sculpture, and painting, if we compare them with those of Greece. The gods are disfigured by animal heads and attributes, the men look like machines, stiff, stolid, monotonous. The Egyptian mind was kept in bondage by the dark powers of nature; the Greek mind was emancipated and breathed the air of freedom and manhood. Phidias and Socrates have done more for civilization than all the Pharaohs and Ptolemies.

In the course of time Egypt, from the most powerful of empires, became "the basest of kingdoms." And from this condition it has not yet risen. It is true, a new era of reform began with Mohammed Ali (died 1849), the Napoleon of Egypt. His grandson, Isma il Pasha, the present Khedive or Viceroy (since 1863), is following his steps, and seems to have taken the imperial charlatan, Napoleon III., "the nephew of the uncle," for his model. He is undoubtedly an intelligent, enterprising, and energetic ruler, and has all the varnish of modern French civilization; but he builds from the top downward, instead of building from the foundation upward—and the natural result is bankruptcy. He constructs, by forced labor, railroads and canals, palace after palace for himself and his wives and concubines, hotels, theatres, and sugar factories; he owns large sugar and cotton plantations, and all the steamers on the Nile; and he

grinds his people to the very dust by taxation. Every acre of land and every fruit-tree in Egypt is heavily taxed. His officials are corrupt and notoriously open to bribes ; he had to send for an Englishman to sift the bottom facts of his embarrassment and to straighten his finances. There is no administration of real justice except in the three international courts recently established, to which England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and the United States send representatives.

A more degraded, abject, and beggarly people than the modern Egyptians it would be difficult to find within the limits of the civilized world. "Backsheesh" is the first word they learn, and the last they forget. You hear it everywhere from morning till night, from old and young, as if it were "the chief end of man." It opens the key to everything worth seeing in the East except the harems and the cave of Machpelah at Hebron. It indicates the all-prevailing poverty and misery. The villages of Egypt look like shapeless heaps of ruins. The houses in the country, and even in some quarters of Alexandria and Cairo, are miserable mud-huts, without roofs, without beds, without furniture, and not much better than Indian wigwams. Men, women, and children are huddled together on the bare floor. They have but one garment, or a few rags. They live in the same enclosure and on terms of ultra-democratic equality with their donkeys, buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep, and chickens ; only the doves have a separate household in the pure air above, and send down their contributions to the dirt of the family. The women work in the field and carry all the water in heavy jars, but

have little else to do—no stockings to darn, no beds to make, no linen to mend, no plates and cups to clean; their highest idea of happiness is to sit on the river bank gossiping and catching fleas. The children are naked, and seldom if ever washed; even the flies which encamp around their eyes are left undisturbed. Ophthalmia and blindness prevail to a fearful extent. Reading and writing are unknown among the common people; they are so ignorant that they rarely know even their own age. Birth, marriage, and death are the only events in their monotonous animal existence.

And yet these Egyptians are not without noble qualities. They are a submissive, gentle, harmless, and by no means unintelligent race. They have bright dark eyes, white teeth, fine figures, and any amount of physical endurance. Many of the men are very handsome and quick-witted; the women are as straight as the palm-trees, and carry their burdens skilfully and gracefully on their heads or shoulders. Even the Nubians, though darker than our negroes, and far beneath them in knowledge, surpass them in physical appearance and seeming capacity for higher attainments. Like other Mohammedans, the Egyptians are temperate in meat and drink, and can live on bread, lentils, beans, dates, sour milk, and water. Mohammedanism is a great total abstinence society. Our Arab dragoman from Luxor and the captain on the Nile indignantly refused wine or beer which some less scrupulous Christian passengers injudiciously offered them. I often thought how difficult it must be for these simple-minded and contented Orientals

to be convinced of the superiority of the Christian religion and civilization, if judged by the luxurious extravagance and intemperance of many English and American travellers.

Is there any hope for such a people? Undoubtedly there is, in God's own good time and way. Great political changes must precede. It is not impossible that Egypt, the highway to British India, will before long be annexed to England. The most intelligent men in Egypt, not interested in the present reign of the Khedive, desire it; knowing that England has a strong and honest government, would throw a vast amount of capital into the country, and promote liberty, education, and industry among the people. An English protectorate over Egypt would be a part of the solution of the Eastern question. It would prepare the way for a still higher solution, the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent. "The Egyptians shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord." (Isa. 19: 20, 21.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

General Character—The Koran and the Bible Compared—The Fundamental Dogma—Monotheism—Fatalism—Islam—Paradise—Hell—Other Articles of Belief—Mohammedan Ethics—Mohammedan Worship—Friday—Hours of Prayer—Dancing and Howling Dervishes—Islam a Religion of Men, not of Women—Degradation of Woman—Mohammed and his Successors.

THE Mohammedan religion is a compound of Jewish monotheism, heathen sensuality, and apocryphal pseudo-Christianity, pervaded by devotion to Mohammed, the poet and prophet of Arabia. It may be called a bastard Judaism, as the Arabs are Ishmaelites, or children of the bastard son of Abraham.

The Koran is the Bible of the Moslems, who believe it to be literally inspired, infallible, and a universal guide in religion, morals, grammar, philosophy, and government. It is too sacred to be translated or printed, but has often been translated by Christians from Arabic into modern languages.

The Koran is unquestionably one of the great books of the world. It has left its impress upon ages. It feeds the devotions and regulates the lives of more than a hundred millions of human beings. It has many passages of poetic beauty, religious fervor, and wise counsel, but mixed with absurdities, bombast, unmeaning images, and

low sensuality. It abounds in repetitions and contradictions which are not removed by the convenient theory of abrogation. It alternately attracts and repels, and is a most wearisome book to read. Gibbon says, "The Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God ;" but he calls it also very properly an "endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and declamations, which seldom excites a sentiment or idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds." Reiske denounces it as the most absurd book, and a scourge to a reader of sound common sense. Goethe characterizes the style as severe, great, terrible, and at times truly sublime. Carlyle calls the book "the confused ferment of a great, rude human soul, fervent, earnest, sincere in all senses." But this is too much praise.

Of all books, not excluding the Vedas, the Koran is the most powerful rival of the Bible, but falls infinitely below it in contents and form. Both are thoroughly oriental in style and imagery, and born under similar conditions of soil, climate, and habits of life. Both contain the moral and religious code of the nations which own them ; the Koran, like the Old Testament, is also a civil code, for in Mohammedan countries the civil and ecclesiastical governments are one. Both have the freshness of occasional composition growing out of a definite historical situation and specific wants. But the Bible is the genuine revelation of the only true God in Christ ; the Koran is a mock revelation, without Christ and without atonement. The Bible is historical, and embodies the noblest aspirations of the human race in all ages to the final con-

summation ; the Koran begins and stops with Mohamed. The Bible combines endless variety with unity, universal applicability with local adaptation ; the Koran is uniform and monotonous, confined to one country, one state of society, and one class of minds. The Bible is the book of the world, and is constantly travelling to the ends of the earth, carrying spiritual food to all classes of the people ; the Koran stays at home, and is insipid to all who have once fully tasted the true Word of the living God. Even the poetry of the Koran never rises to the grandeur and sublimity of Job or Isaiah, the lyric beauty of the Psalms, the sweetness and loveliness of the Song of Solomon, the sententious wisdom of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

A few instances must suffice.

The first Sura, called "the Sura of Praise and Prayer," which is recited by the Mussulmans in each of the five daily devotions, fills for them the place of the Lord's Prayer, and contains the same number of petitions. We give it in a literal translation :

- " 1. In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds !
3. The Compassionate, the Merciful,
4. King on the day of reckoning !
5. Thee only do we worship, and to thee do we cry for help.
6. Guide thou us on the straight path,
7. The path of those to whom thou hast been gracious—
With whom thou art not angry,
And who go not astray. Amen."

As this Sura invites a comparison with the Lord's Prayer infinitely to the advantage of the latter, so do the

Koran's descriptions of paradise when contrasted with John's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem :

"Joyous on that day shall be the inmates of Paradise in their employ ;

In shades, on bridal couches reclining, they and their spouses.

Therein shall they have fruits, and whatever they require.

'Peace!' shall be the word on the part of a merciful Lord,

'But be ye separated this day, O ye sinners !'

* * * * *

The sincere servants of God,

A stated banquet shall they have

Of fruits, and honored shall they be

In the gardens of delight,

Upon couches face to face.

A cup shall be borne round among them from a fountain,

Limpid, delicious to those who drink ;

It shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they therewith be drunken,

And with them are the large-eyed ones with modest refraining glance, fair like the sheltered egg."

The fundamental dogma of Islam is contained in the ever-repeated phrase, "There is no deity but Allah, and Mohammed is his apostle." (*Lâ ilâha ill' allâh, wa Muhammeda rrasûla' llah.*) The first clause is true, and borrowed from the Old Testament (Deut. 6:4) ; the second clause is an error which corrupts the truth. The source of its power and the secret of its success lie in the intense and fanatical monotheism of Islam. Its historical mission consists in the destruction of heathen idolatry. But this monotheism, like the Jewish and the Unitarian monotheism, is abstract and monotonous. It excludes the fulness of life and the inner-trinitarian relations as well as outer-trinitarian manifestations of the

Deity. It is hostile to the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It absurdly reasons from the pseudo-Christian Mariolatry of the Eastern churches, that God has no wife, and therefore he can have no Son! The Mohammedan God is not a loving father of trustful children, but a despotic sovereign of trembling subjects and slaves. He has from eternity foreordained all things, evil as well as good. The Mohammedan doctrine of predestination is not Calvinistic, but fatalistic. It breeds a fierce fanaticism in the propagation of religion, and a stolid submission to unalterable fate. Islam—that is, unconditional resignation to the unchangeable will of Allah—is the chief virtue. He who dies fighting for his faith is sure to be saved.

The Mohammedan paradise is in the seventh heaven, and is the abode of perpetual youth and sensual delight for the faithful. Hell (*Iahennem*—*Gehenna*) is beneath the lowest earth and seas of darkness, and is a place of everlasting punishment for all infidels, with seven stages for as many classes, viz., wicked Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, Sabians, Magians, idolaters, hypocrites. The bridge over hell is finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword; the pious pass over it in a moment, the wicked fall from it into the abyss. The Moslems believe also in pure angels, good and evil genii, and devils whose chief is *Iblees* or Satan. They believe in prophets and apostles, among whom Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, are the greatest. Jesus excels all, except Mohammed, of whom he himself prophesied, when he promised that “other Paraclete” (*Com-*

forter), who should lead his disciples into the whole truth. Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary, and free from sin, but a mere man. He will return again, and with Mohammed judge the whole world.

The principal duties enjoined by the Koran are prayer, almsgiving, fasting (during the month of Ramadàn), and pilgrimage to Mecca and Mount Arafàt at least once in a man's life, if possible. The less important duties and rites are abstinence from unclean animal food, from wine and all intoxicating liquor, from gambling and usury; also veracity (except in a few cases), probity, charity, cleanliness, decent attire, circumcision. The law allows a man to have four wives (though most have only one or two), and as many concubine slaves as he pleases. Pashas, Khalifs, and Sultans are not restricted in polygamy. Divorce is made easy. Sons inherit equal shares, but the share of a daughter is only half that of a son.

The Mohammedan worship consists simply of prayers, with preparatory ablutions, and occasional preaching from the Koran. It is iconoclastic and puritanic. It resembles the Jewish and the Protestant worship, rather than the Roman or Greek Catholic. There is an entire absence of symbolical representations, which might distract the mind from the one and only object of worship. The prohibition in the second commandment is literally carried out. The Koran has no idea of an atonement, and hence no room for sacrifice, except the commemoration of Ishmael's (Isaac's) sacrifice by Abraham. Allah is indeed "all merciful," and forgives sins, but arbitrarily, without satisfaction of his justice. In this respect, as

also in the doctrine of the abstract unity of the godhead, Islam resembles Socinianism and Unitarianism. It may be called the great Unitarian heresy of the East. "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," is the phrase used at the beginning of every chapter of the Koran (except one), and of every other book, as also before every lawful and important act. The two words are from the same root, and have nearly the same meaning, with the distinction, according to the Ulama (the professors of religion and law), that "compassionate" means "merciful in great things," the other "merciful in small things." But E. W. Lane (the author of that most instructive and reliable book "The Modern Egyptians," and translator of "The Thousand and One Nights") says that "the first expresses an occasional sensation, the second a constant quality."

Friday is observed as Sabbath, because on Friday Adam was created and died, and on Friday the world will be judged. On that day the Dancing and Howling Dervishes perform their unique exercises, of which I shall speak afterwards. But the observance of Friday is not nearly as strict as the Jewish observance of the Sabbath. On the other hand, worship is not confined to that day. The mosques, like the Roman-Catholic churches, are always open and frequented by worshippers, who perform their devotions either in groups or alone.

The devotions of the pious Moslem are impressive, and put many Christians to shame. He says his prayers and goes through his bowings and prostrations regularly.

and punctually five times a day, in the mosque, or at home, or on board a ship, or in the street, or wherever he may be, regardless of his surroundings, being alone with his God in the midst of the crowd, his face turned toward Mecca, his hands raised to heaven, then laid on the lap, his knees bent, his forehead touching the ground. His usual prayer is the first Sura of the Koran, which serves him the same purpose as the Lord's Prayer does the Christian. Sometimes a few other verses are added, and the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah which form the Mohammedan rosary. There are five stated hours of prayer: between daybreak and sunrise, a little after noonday, in the afternoon, four minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. The Prophet fixed the seasons of prayer in this way to avoid the appearance of sun and star-worship, which he had to contend with in Arabia. The muëddin or muëzzin (crier) announces the time of prayer from the minaret of each mosque, by chanting the "Adan," or call to prayer, in these or similar words: "God is most great. I testify that there is no deity but God. I testify that Mohammed is God's apostle. Come to prayer! Come to security! Prayer is better than sleeping. God is most great. There is no deity but God."

Among the most curious features of Mohammedan worship are the exercises of the Dancing and Howling Dervishes, which I witnessed both at Cairo and at Constantinople (in Pera and Scutari) on Friday and Tuesday afternoon. The dervishes are the Moslem monks. They perform their astounding feats of asceticism once a week

in their mosques, and strangers are admitted on the payment of backsheesh. They carry certain forms of asceticism as far as the old Christian Anchorets or the Fakirs of India.

The Dancing Dervishes, after the preliminary exercises of prayer and prostration, whirl around on their toes, ring within ring without touching each other, for about an hour until they are utterly exhausted. I saw thirteen of them, all dressed in white flowing gowns and with high white hats of stiff woollen stuff; their hands were stretched out or raised to heaven, their eyes half closed; their mind was apparently absorbed in the contemplation of Allah. The performance consisted of four different acts, and I counted forty to fifty turnings in one minute. The spectacle is very exciting, and the dexterity and elasticity of their bodies are astonishing. The faces betrayed fanatical devotion. But to my great amazement I saw the next day one of these very dervishes in a state of beastly intoxication reeling to and fro on the large bridge of the Golden Horn without observing anybody. This was a strange commentary on Mohammedan temperance. The higher classes, I understand, and it would seem from this exceptional example even dervishes, freely indulge in the use of strong brandy and champagne.

The Howling Dervishes swing their heads up and down, crying incessantly with all their might, *Lâ ilahâ ill' Allâh*, and some other phrases, until they are stopped from sheer exhaustion. The spectacle in Scutari lasted with the preliminary prayers and songs nearly two hours;

but it did not impress me as much as the one in Cairo a few months before, the charm of novelty was gone. In Scutari the monks formed a line, in Cairo a ring, holding each other by the hand and throwing their long hair backward and forward so as to present a unique picture.

In entering a mosque, we may keep on the hat or turban, but must take off the shoes, or cover them with socks, or put on slippers, in commemoration of the divine command to Moses, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Slippers or sandals of straw are usually provided at the entrance of the mosques, and must be paid for. There are always half a dozen claimants for backsheesh.

Women are seldom seen in the mosques. The Koran does not command them to pray, and some Mohammedan philosophers doubt whether women have souls. Yet they are necessary for the bliss of Paradise, where the humblest believer is allowed 80,000 slaves and 72 wives besides those he had in this life, if he chooses to keep them.

Islam is a religion of men, while Christianity has more followers among women. The one keeps woman in a state of slavery and ignorance; the other raises her to true dignity and equality with man. In nothing is the superiority of Christian civilization over Mohammedanism so manifest as in the position of woman and in the home-life. Polygamy reduces woman to a mere slave and plaything, and is a fruitful source of domestic and social misery. Mohammed was comparatively temperate, but grew more sensual and cruel as he advanced in life

and power. He was first married to a rich widow much older than himself (Chadijah), who bore him four daughters and two sons; two months after her death he married Sawda, another widow, and was betrothed at the same time to a mere girl of six or seven years, Ayesha, whose jealous hatred of Fatima (his only surviving daughter from Chadijah) became the cause of perpetual discords and schisms. He had in all fifteen regular wives and many concubines. He despised a throne and a diadem, he mended his own clothes, he pegged his own shoes, he lived on dates and water, in a poor cottage, surrounded by the cottages of his wives and slaves. His successors drink champagne, live in luxury, and have dozens of palaces and harems filled with eunuchs and women who know nothing beyond the vanities of etiquette and dress. It is painful to add that the American Mohammed, Brigham Young, who died in September, 1877, had nineteen wives and over fifty children, and left an immense fortune.

Mohammed and the savage sons of the desert, by a fanatical faith, extreme simplicity and temperance, and fierce bravery, conquered the fairest portions of the East, plundering, enslaving, and destroying wherever they went, and reducing the lands of the Bible to a dreary ruin. His successors at the present day have to live at the mercy of Christian Europe. They have shamefully wasted their opportunities, and the time of reckoning has come. The Mohammedan religion is indeed neither dead nor dying; a visit to its old University in Cairo, with ten thousand pupils, and its progress among the savage

racés in Africa, are sufficient to prove its vitality ; but it has ceased to be a terror and insult to Europe ; it must retreat to Asia, it is gradually undermined by inevitable changes in its own strongholds, and before long it will have to open the door for the messengers of a purer Christianity than that which it so easily conquered, not by argument and persuasion, but by the brute force of the sword, which by the slow but sure Nemesis of history is now turned against it.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT.

Early Christianity in Egypt—St. Mark—The Catechetical School in Alexandria—Clement and Origen—Athanasius the Great—St. Anthony and Monasticism—Cyril of Alexandria—The Decay of Christianity—The Triumph of Islam—The Coptic Church—A Coptic Wedding—Protestant Missions among the Copts—Drs. Lansing and Hogg—The United Presbyterian Mission—English and German Churches—The Mission Schools of Miss Whately—Statistics.

WILL Egypt ever be Christianized again? Once the gospel dispelled Egyptian darkness, and overthrew one of the basest forms of civilized superstition and idolatry, which worshipped beasts and reptiles, and built magnificent tombs for sacred bulls and wolves and crocodiles. The land which sheltered Joseph and the patriarchal family and the infant Jesus, accepted the message of St. Mark; and Alexandria, its capital, soon rose to be one of the patriarchal sees of Christendom. In the second century the same city boasted of a flourishing catechetical school, in which Clement and Origen expounded the Scriptures, silenced the heathen assailants, confounded the heretics, and introduced Platonic philosophy into Christian theology. There Athanasius, the father of orthodoxy, fought his life-long battle against Arianism, and

saved the fundamental doctrine of Christianity—the eternal divinity of Christ.

In Egypt also arose the system of Christian anchoretism and monasticism, which reflected in the moral sphere the startling contrast between the solemn, barren desert and the smiling garden of the Nile. In the tombs and caves of the Libyan desert St. Anthony became the patriarch of hermits, and St. Pachomius the patriarch of monks—both childless, and yet “the fathers of an innumerable generation.” A mania for the voluntary martyrdom of ascetic life spread with such rapidity in the fourth century, that in Egypt the number of anchorites and cenobites in the deserts was supposed to be equal to the population of the cities. “It was,” says Montalembert, “a kind of emigration of towns to the desert, of civilization to simplicity, of noise to silence, of corruption to innocence. The current once begun, floods of men, of women and of children, threw themselves into it, and flowed thither during a century with irresistible force.” The great Athanasius wrote the life of St. Anthony (although this has been recently questioned), and often found shelter from persecution in the mountain caves of the hermits. Even the first of the Latin fathers, Jerome and Augustine, were mightily attracted by this abnormal method of Christian holiness, which sought perfection and salvation in flight from the world, rather than in victory over the world.

We must not suppose, however, that Egypt was ever thoroughly Christianized. Such men as Origen, Athanasius, and Dionysius, rose, like the Colossi of Thebes or

the Pyramids of Gheezeh, far above the sandy plain of popular ignorance and superstition. Anchoretism and monasticism were at best but abnormal and morbid forms of Christian life, and grew out of heathen forms of asceticism in the neighborhood of Memphis, as much as of the Christian spirit of self-denial. Long after the edict of Theodosius had prohibited heathenism, the worship of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, flourished on the beautiful island of Philæ, above the First Cataract, where the imposing ruins of their temples still remain. The great mass of the people simply exchanged a gross for a refined idolatry. They ceased to worship and mummify bulls and crocodiles, beetles and snakes, but they idolized dead men, and built shrines for their bones. What Egyptian Christianity was in the fifth century we see in Cyril of Alexandria, a zealot for orthodoxy and a despotic ruffian. His character is well described in Kingsley's "*Hypatia*." Subtle metaphysical controversies absorbed charity and took the place of vital, practical Christianity. The substance was lost, the empty forms remained. The Church of Christ was mummified and buried in the tombs.

Hence Islam had an easy conquest. It triumphed by the sword and the moral force of its monotheism. But, as everywhere else, it made no real progress, and has seen its best days. The Mohammedan population, which forms the great majority of the five millions of Egyptians, will not be accessible to Christian missionaries until the power of the Turks is broken and the Eastern question settled in favor of full religious liberty.

But there is still in Egypt a considerable number of

Copts (some statements say 500,000), who represent both the old Egyptian nationality and Christianity. To this they adhere with traditional tenacity, though otherwise they are much assimilated to the Arabs, or the Arabs to them. They belong to the Eastern schismatics, since they reject the orthodox dogma of the two natures of Christ, and adhere to the Monophysite heresy. They are superior in talent and education to the Arabs, and furnish most of the scribes and government clerks. Their Christianity is petrified, and consists of empty ceremonies. They do not understand their own Coptic language, which is the language of the hieroglyphics.

I attended a Coptic wedding in a wealthy family of Cairo. It was performed by the patriarch, a bishop, several priests and choristers, and lasted three mortal hours; for marriage, next to birth and death, is the one important event in the life of an Egyptian, and excites the greatest interest. The ceremony consisted of the mechanical reading of Coptic and Arabic prayers and Scripture sections from a manuscript book, and of discordant chanting, or hallooing, such as I never heard before. The patriarch looked tired, the bishop stupid, the bridegroom indifferent; the bride, a girl of fifteen, in white dress richly adorned, was veiled all over; the choristers laughed; the dense crowd of friends chatted in the different rooms and courts below, or listened to the barbaric music. I asked myself, Is this the Christianity of St. Athanasius and St. Mark? Or is it Christianity at all?

And yet among these Copts a remarkable mission work has been going on for the last twenty years, under

the care of the United Presbyterian Church of America, and by the self-denying labors of Drs. Lansing and Hogg and their male and female assistants.

The first attempt at Protestant missions in Egypt was made about a hundred years ago by the Moravians, in the fervor of their first enthusiasm for Christ ; but it failed, because it was begun in the wrong time. The second attempt was made by the English Church Missionary Society about fifty years ago, but failed, because it was conducted in the wrong method, in the delusive hope that the praying corpse of the Coptic Church could be galvanized into a living body.

About twenty-three years ago the missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church began their work among the Copts. During the first ten years (1855-1865) it was confined to Cairo and Alexandria. Since then it has extended to Middle and Upper Egypt. It began with the education of the young during the week, and preaching on Sunday to small but gradually-increasing audiences of Copts, Levantine Greeks, and Armenians. Persecution by the clergy, and obstructions and discouragements of all kinds, were not wanting ; but the work steadily progressed, souls were converted, schools multiplied, and native self-supporting churches organized ; even a college and theological seminary were established in Osiout, the capital of Upper Egypt, for the training of a native clergy. In Cairo and Osiout the mission has acquired valuable property and erected suitable buildings, which contrast most favorably with the mud-houses of the native Egyptians.

I examined these fields of labor, attended the services in the churches and schools, and became convinced of the solid and hopeful character of this mission among the Copts, who are naturally intelligent and shrewd. Dr. Lansing (in Cairo) and Dr. Hogg (in Osiout)—the former an American, the latter a Scotchman—are men of superior talent and education, as well as devoted Christian character. They have the right spirit, and are full of faith and hope. They have mastered the Arabic, and preach it with fluency. They have good libraries, filled with the latest works of English and American theology. The theological students whom I saw seemed to be zealous for evangelistic work among their countrymen. The day-schools are attended even by Arab children, and extend a good influence beyond the mission. It is an encouraging fact that the Protestant Copts in Osiout, and in some new stations, show much spirit in building churches, and supporting them by their own contributions, instead of relying on the Missionary Board. The Khedive has, from interest in education, aided the Mission of Cairo by the grant of a valuable lot in the best part of the new city, opposite Shepheard's Hotel and near the New Hotel, for the erection of a spacious building, which is to accommodate the church and the boarding-school, and to be a depository of Bibles and Christian literature. Besides the Arabic service, there is also English service there every Sunday during the winter for the benefit of travellers. Thus seed is cast upon the fertilizing waters of the Nile, which in due time will sprout and bear fruit for the great harvest.

Presbyterianism is the only form of Protestantism which has taken root among the natives of Egypt. It is the evangelical pioneer church. But there are a few English and German churches in Alexandria and Cairo, for the foreign population in these large cities.

An admirable educational work of an unsectarian missionary character is carried on in Cairo under the care of Miss M. L. Whately, the daughter of the late Archbishop of Dublin. She has been devoting the last fifteen years to this noble and self-denying charity. Her schools are near the railroad station, and number at present 150 girls and 250 boys, divided into half a dozen classes. They are taught the elementary branches in Arabic ; some learn also English, French, and Italian. The Scriptures are read and explained, and it seems Mohaemmdan parents do not object to it. Miss Whately told me, however, that none of her pupils would dare to profess Christianity and submit to baptism, which would at once provoke persecution. She looks more for indirect than direct results of her work. I saw the schools in active operation, and was very favorably impressed. Among the donations for the year 1876, the largest (\$1,000) was from a wealthy and liberal lady of the Episcopal church in New York. The whole sum received was £950, or \$4,750. The building is large and commodious. The schools are independent of ecclesiastical and episcopal control, but receive some support from the English Church Missionary Society, and may be brought at some future time under the patronage of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of Jerusalem.

During my sojourn in Cairo, the Protestant clergymen and missionaries of Egypt met in the new mission church of Dr. Lansing, to form an Egyptian branch of the Evangelical Alliance, for mutual protection and encouragement in their work. The meeting was large and interesting, and lasted three hours. It embraced a number of clergymen from England, Scotland, and America. The proceedings were conducted in Arabic, English, and German. I explained the object and aim of the Evangelical Alliance, after which addresses were made by Drs. Yule (President of the Branch), Lansing, Hogg, Troutvetter, Waddington, Ewing, and Watson. Some recent cases of persecution of converted Copts were fully discussed. The organization opened with considerable zeal and energy.

I add the latest statistics of the American mission work in the dominions of the Khedive, 1877, as kindly furnished to me by Dr. Hogg of Osiout :

MISSION STATIONS occupied by foreign missionaries : 3 in the Delta (Alexandria, Monsura, Cairo) ; 1 in Middle Egypt (Fayoom) ; 1 in Upper Egypt (Osiout). Total, 5.

ORGANIZED CONGREGATIONS : 4 supplied by missionaries ; 4 supplied by native pastors, 1 self-supporting, 3 partly self-supporting. Total, 8.

EVANGELISTIC CENTRES, OR OUT-STATIONS, where converts have been gathered to the number of from 3 to 50 : 11 supplied by preachers or evangelists ; 5 worked by native converts. Total, 16.

PREACHERS AND EVANGELISTS : Foreign missionaries in Egypt, 7, absent, 3, making 10 ; trained natives, 13. Total, 23.

SCHOOLS : Supported by the Mission, 12, supported by native churches, 17, making 29. Students of theology, 8 ; students of Osiout Training Academy, 70.

SECOND PART.

THE

SINAITIC PENINSULA.

SECOND PART.

THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

CHAPTER XIV.

THIRTY DAYS ON THE CAMEL.

The Great Desert—Its Significance in Sacred History—The Company—The Dragoman—The Waiter and Cook—The Bedawin—The Camel—The Daily Programme—Benefit of the Journey.

WE now travel with the people of Israel under their divinely-called commander through “the great and terrible wilderness” of the Sinaitic Peninsula. What a contrast between the life and noise of Cairo, and the death and silence of the Desert!

And yet the Desert has its peculiar charms and historic interest. It was the school and playground of Israel, as Egypt was its cradle. In the Sinaitic Peninsula the Hebrew theocracy was established; here a semi-barbarous horde of slaves was trained to be the chosen people of God; here a code of morals was proclaimed which still rules among the followers of the three monotheistic religions; here some of the sublimist literary

works were composed, the Pentateuch, the ninetyeth Psalm, and the poem of Job, which will live as long as the human race. St. Paul spent three years in Arabia preparing himself for his great work. The Koran, too, is a product of the burning sand, and keeps alive the fanaticism of the followers of Mohammed. The Desert stimulates deep and serious meditation. Its immensity and silence suggest grand and solemn thoughts. It makes you feel, as you can feel nowhere else, the presence and power of God, and the need of his constant protection and care.

A dragoman, a waiter, a cook, sixteen Bedawin and sixteen camels loaded with baggage, chicken and turkey coops, water-barrels, tents, bedding, all sorts of provisions, and a cooking apparatus, form the caravan for four passengers. The journey lasts thirty days from Suez to Gaza or Hebron, *viâ* Sinai and Nakhel, and costs each passenger a little over two pounds (\$10) per day. Some go only to Mount Sinai and back again to Suez, which takes three weeks. Others take the route to Akabah, Petra, and the Dead Sea, which is more interesting, but requires from forty to forty-five days, and an extra back-sheesh of ten pounds per person for permission of the Bedawin to pass through Petra. We could not take this route because of war among the Bedawin tribes, and thus missed the pleasure of seeing the Gulf of Akabah, the wonderful rock-hewn city of Petra, and ascending Mount Hor, where Aaron died.

Let me first make you acquainted with our company. It consists of two American clergymen and two English

laymen. The former are unarmed, the latter carry pistols. One of the Americans is a teetotaller, a vegetarian, and an enthusiastic botanist, always in pursuit of rare plants; and although he touches no wine, no meat, no butter, he keeps well and never complains of his diet. One of the Englishmen, formerly an officer of the Royal Engineers, is silent and somewhat absent-minded, but well posted in geography and geology, kind, courteous, and amiable. The other Englishman, who is hardly out of his teens, takes special delight in natural history, and would like above all things to see a live hyena and jackal. He keeps the Bedawin busy hunting and bottling snakes, scorpions, chameleons, and lizards, which he generously intended to present to the museum of his native town; but unfortunately his camel broke the bottles after carrying them safely to the gates of Gaza. He barely saved the horns of an ibex which the Bedawin shot on Mount Sinai. Upon the whole, the company is congenial, and gets along without a family quarrel, which is so apt to break up a miscellaneous party of travellers in the East.

Our dragoman is the general provider, guide, and interpreter, as the word indicates.* He is an indispensable necessity in the East since the days of Herodotus, who employed one in Egypt. We have no reason to complain of Joseph Tanous. He is a Maronite Christian from Lebanon, intelligent, courteous, and sober, and behaved well till he got to Jerusalem.—He speaks Arabic, French, and Italian, but not a word of English or

* From the Chaldee, *targum*, *i. e.*, explanation, and *targem*, to explain.

German. The waiter, Ibrahim, is likewise a Maronite, but was brought up in the Protestant school of Bishop Gobat, at Jerusalem. He is the only one in the party with whom we can converse in English. The cook is an Italian, and understands his art as well as a Frenchman. He provides us with good meals, well prepared, at short notice.

The Bedawin of the wilderness are a semi-barbarous race, without a history, without a political and social organization, independent, wild, and warlike, real Ishmaelites, whose hands are against every man and every man's hands against them. (Gen. 16:12.) They have made no progress since the days of Ishmael. They are broken up into various tribes, and the tribes into several divisions. A sheikh acts as civil and military chief, but his authority is not much respected. They have strong and healthy constitutions, and a certain native courtesy and dignity. The tribes are frequently at war with each other, and this makes travelling sometimes unsafe. The Bedawin of the east and northeast of the Peninsula, especially the Alawîn, have the reputation of being professional thieves. Travellers must hire a band of these robbers to protect them against their fellow-robbers. Being the lords of the wilderness, they claim the right to levy tribute on foreigners passing through their territory and enjoying their protection. Sometimes, especially at Petra, they ask exorbitant sums. But they are by no means all thieves. Homicide is rare among them, owing to the ancient habit of blood-revenge, which requires the nearest male relative of the slain to kill the murderer at

the first opportunity. An adulterer is shot by the injured husband as soon as he is found.

The Towarah tribe, with which we had to do, are perhaps the best among the Bedawin. They seem to be free from the lawless and predatory instincts of their brethren, owing probably to their contact with foreign travellers and with a settled government in their neighborhood. They are partly in the employ of the convent of Mount Sinai, and accompany the travellers from Cairo and back. We found them honest, contented, and peaceable, and not without noble traits of character. We became quite attached to them, and they to us. Some cried like children when we parted at Gaza. The Towarah are very poor; they have no shoes, but rude sandals made of fish-skin, and generally walk barefooted. They wear a white shirt, with long open sleeves (which contain their valuables), a long robe of goats' or camels' hair, and a turban. They live on barley-bread, manna, beans, and water; a cup of coffee and a pipe are great luxuries. Occasionally they slaughter a sheep for a feast or for sacrifice. They carry long muskets and swords or daggers, which look more formidable than they really are. They have their summer and winter camping-grounds, watch their camels, goats, and sheep, and cultivate a few patches of ground. They sleep in tents made of goats' hair, or in caves; but when travelling they sleep in the open air with their cloaks wrapped around them. Women are seldom seen; they are closely veiled, grind the mill, and watch the flocks. They marry early, and are bought by their husbands from the father for camels. We were

told that the bride is generally away in the mountains during the negotiation ; when she first sees her lover she treats him to stones, but soon surrenders and is carried captive to his tent. The birth of a male child is hailed with great joy ; but "girls," they say, "are good for nothing."

The religion of the Bedawin amounts to very little. They are nominally Mohammedans and polygamists, and practise circumcision with great festivities, but are extremely ignorant and superstitious. They have no forms of worship except sacrifices at the tombs of their saints and on the top of Jebel Mûsa. They do not even pray, or very seldom. When I asked my guide Mûsa why he never prayed, like other devout Moslems, he excused himself by the want of water to wash the hands, which is necessary before praying. When I told him that the Koran allows sand in the desert as a substitute for water, he seemed surprised, as if he had never heard of it. I saw him, however, do homage to the memory of a Moslem saint and kiss his stony monument. His opinion about Jesus was that he *may* have been a prophet, but Mohammed certainly *was* one, and Allah was the only God. Palmer relates that the Bedawin, on awaking in the morning, believe that the Spirit of God sits upon their right shoulder, and the devil on their left, sprinkle themselves and repeat the exorcising formula, "I seek refuge in God from Satan accursed with stones." At sunset the same formula is repeated.* I never witnessed this. Their highest idea of human happiness is to possess a

* *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 96.



CAMEL-RIDING.

Morocco sword, a pretty wife, one or more camels, and plenty of tobacco.

What shall be done with these children of the desert? I asked the monks of the Convent of St. Catharine why they never made an attempt to convert them, or—since Mohammedan law forbids this—at least to civilize them. The answer was, “They are a set of camels, and care for nothing but their daily food.” But they have immortal souls, and are redeemed by the blood of Christ. As negroes and Indians have been civilized, why not they? The time will come when the saving arm of Christian love will be stretched out to the descendants of Ishmael.

From the Bedawin we proceed to their favorite animal which carries us through the desert. The camel is an awkward, ugly, unclean, stupid, and ill-tempered animal, and looks like personified misery and discontent. But it is truly “the ship of the desert,” and admirably adapted for its use on the boundless ocean of sand from the Nile to the Euphrates. It has needed no repair since the days of Abraham, and could not be improved by any invention in navigation. No horse or donkey would answer the purpose. The camel has the reputation of patient endurance and passive submission, which some, however, deny, or regard as mere stupidity. It carries the heaviest burdens on its single or double hump, which is its natural pack-saddle.* Its very name means burden-

* The double-humped Bactrian camel of Central Asia and Tartary is rarely seen in Egypt and the Desert. I only rode the one-humped dromedary.

bearer. It can travel five (some say nine or even fifteen) days in scorching heat without water, and resort to its inside tank or cistern, which, at the sacrifice of its own life, has saved the life of many a traveller. It lives on barley, dry beans, and chopped straw while in camp, and on the prickly thistles and thorns of the wilderness, which, much to the annoyance of the rider, it snatches from the wayside and leisurely chews as a positive luxury. It supplies its master with milk, fuel, sandals, and garments; and having done its duty, it leaves its bleached skeleton in the arid waste as a landmark to future travellers. With peculiar gurgling growls or sighs of protest, unlike the sounds of any other animal, the camel goes down on its knees in four distinct motions, till it lies on its belly; growling it receives its burden; growling it gets up by several jerks, first on the hind-legs, then on the front-legs, so that the rider is violently pitched forward and then as violently jerked backward, and must hold fast to the saddle or be thrown down on the sand. Once started, the beast moves with long strides on its soft, spongy feet steadily and noiselessly forward as under a painful sense of duty, but without the least interest in the rider. A primitive wooden frame serves as saddle, and the mattress or pillow on which we sleep at night is thrown over it as a seat. The swinging motion high in the air is disagreeable and makes us a little seasick, but we gradually get used to it. To break the monotony and the fatigue we change our position, now riding as on horseback, now crossing the legs like the Arabs, now sitting on one side and then on the other.

I parted with the "Djemel" at Gaza not without a certain admiration and respect, and yet I was glad to exchange it for the noble, spirited, and dashing horse. The Bible mentions the camel only incidentally, though in a way that implies its great usefulness; while the horse is described with glowing colors and honored with eloquent eulogy (Job 39: 19-25).*

* Miss Harriet Martineau was unfortunate in her experience with the camel. "Nothing can be uglier," she says, "unless it be the ostrich, which is ludicrously like the camel in form, gait, and expression of face. The patience of the camel, so celebrated in books, is what I never had the pleasure of seeing. So impatient a beast I do not know—growling, groaning, and fretting whenever asked to do or bear anything, looking as if it longed to bite, if only it dared. Its malignant expression of face is lost in pictures, but it may be seen whenever one looks for it. The mingled expression of spite, fear, and hopelessness, in the face of the camel always gave me the impression of its being, or feeling itself, a damned animal. I wonder some of the old painters of hell did not put a camel into their foreground, and make a traditional emblem of it. It is true the Arab loves his own camel, kisses its lips, hugs its neck, calls it his darling and his jewel, and declares he loves it exactly as he loves his eldest son; but it does not appear that any man's affection extends beyond his own particular camel, which is truly for its services an inestimable treasure to him. He is moved to kick and curse at any but the domestic member of the species, as he would be by the perverseness and spite of any other ill-tempered creature. The one virtue of the camel is its ability to work without water; but, out of the Desert, I hardly think that any rider would exchange the willing, intelligent, and proud service of the horse for that of the camel, which objects to everything, and will do no service but under the compulsion of its own fears." *Eastern Life*, new ed., London, p. 5. Palgrave, in his *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1873, p. 25), is equally severe on the camel, and makes stupidity, indifference, and passion for revenge its prominent characteristics. He relates that a camel having been beaten by a boy, a few days afterwards, when nobody was in sight, seized his head, lifted him up in the air, and flung him down again on the earth with the upper part of his skull completely torn off and his brains scattered on the ground. Having thus satisfied its revenge, the brute quietly resumed its pace as though nothing were the matter. "The camel," he says, "is from first to last an undomesticated

The programme of travel is the same for thirty or forty days. Before sunrise the camels begin to growl and the Bedawin to quarrel about the baggage. We get up; offer our prayers, eat our breakfast, consisting of coffee, bread and butter, and omelette or boiled eggs, while the tents are taken down, and the camels loaded amid much noise and clamor; we take a morning walk, or at once mount our beast. At noon we stop for lunch and enjoy an hour's rest, lying under the shadow of a rock or the umbrella, or like Elijah under a juniper-bush, or a tree of shittim-wood—of which the ark was built. If there is no natural shelter within reach, the dragoman spreads a small tent to protect us against the scorching heat. Then another ride of two or three hours till in the distance we see the white tents which have been erected by the Bedawin in charge of the baggage camels, two for the four passengers, one for the dragoman and cook. It is a delightful sight, after a weary ride of seven or eight hours over a distance of twenty-five miles of sand and rock.

Then begins the enjoyable part of the day. We throw ourselves down upon the iron bedstead, for it is the only place where we can stretch our limbs and rest our backs. In about half an hour the bell rings for dinner, and it tastes as good as on any *table d'hôte* in Europe. Hunger is the best cook. We get soup, two courses of meat, eggs, potatoes, rice and beans, nuts, and an ever-and-savage animal, rendered serviceable by stupidity alone, without much skill on his master's part or any coöperation on his own, save that of an extreme passiveness. Neither attachment nor even habit impresses him; never tame, though not wide awake enough to be exactly wild."

welcome orange for dessert, with a cup of tea. But the bread becomes stale, the water insipid, the orange dry, and the chickens and eggs give out as we approach the end of the journey. After dinner we fill up our journal, study the map, read the Bible and guide-book, and then go to bed. The Bedawin with the camels lie a few yards from us encamped on the ground around a fire and watch our tents. They smoke and chat and quarrel till all fall asleep under the bright stars.

A journey through the wilderness is no pleasure trip. It costs more for discomforts than we pay for comforts in civilized lands. The romance of camp-life among the wild Bedawin lies in anticipation and reminiscence, rather than actual experience. The intense heat, the vile insects, the growling of camels, the barbarous habits of the Arabs, the occasional sand-storms, and the many inevitable inconveniences, take away the rainbow color from the poetry. The journey is a weariness to the flesh from beginning to end, and ought not to be attempted except by persons of vigorous constitution.

And yet it impresses itself more deeply on the memory than most parts of an Eastern journey. It is instructive to the geologist, the botanist, the archæologist, and the Biblical student. It is a great satisfaction to pass over the route of the Israelites on their way to the land of promise, and to ascend the mount from which God made his greatest revelation before the coming of Christ. It brings the early Bible history nearer and makes it clearer to us. It imparts a life and reality to the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which they

never had before. It enables us to understand and appreciate the trials and sufferings, the murmurings and ingratitude of the Israelites, and the greatness, the patience and endurance of Moses. Many objections of modern skeptics against the truthfulness of the Pentateuch are at once removed by a knowledge of the geography and the mode of life among the present Arabs. The frequent Scripture allusions to the refreshing fountains of the Desert, the palm-tree, the shadow of a rock, the manna, receive new force. No man can encamp at 'Ayûn-Mûsa, Wady Ghurundel, and Wady Taiyibeh, without reading with a peculiar sensation even the simple words, "And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water and threescore and ten palm-trees; and they encamped there by the waters." Ex. 15:27.

And what is Christian life, after all, but a repetition on a higher key of the story of Israel: a deliverance from the bondage of sin and death, and a passage through the desert and over the Jordan to our heavenly home of rest and peace.



CHAPTER XV.

THE GREAT WILDERNESS.

Shape and Extent of the Peninsula—Its Mineral Wealth—Job's Allusion to the Mines—Dreary Aspect of the Desert—An Ocean of Sand and Gravel—Oases—Wadys—The Mountain Ranges—The Alps of the Desert—The Former and the Present Condition of the Desert.

THE Sinaitic Peninsula is a triangle bordered by the Mediterranean Sea and the two arms of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of 'Akabah. It covers an area of 11,600 square miles; the base measuring nearly 150 miles, and the sides of the triangle 190 and 130 miles respectively.*

It consists of broad, undulating plains, narrow valleys, dry river-beds, isolated mountains, and precipitous rocks of limestone and granite, with fantastic shapes and gorgeous coloring. It is rich in mineral wealth of iron, copper, and turquoise, so that the Egyptians called it "Mafkat," *i. e.*, Land of Copper or Turquoise. These mines are now neglected, but were once worked on a large scale by the ancient Egyptians, especially in the neighborhood of Serâbit el Khâdim and Maghârah, where hieroglyphic tablets still record the names and titles of the kings.†

* E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, p. 17.

† See Dr. Brugsch, *Wanderung nach den Türkisminen der Sinai-Halbinsel*, Leipzig, 1868. Also the graphic description of Dr. Ebers, in *Uarda*,

The Bible also contains an allusion to these mines in the highly poetic description of Job (ch. 28: 1-11):

“Yes, truly, for the silver there’s a vein,
 A place for gold which they refine.
 The iron from the dust is brought,
 And copper from the molten ore.
 To (nature’s) darkness man is setting bounds;
 Unto the end he searcheth everything—
 The stones of darkness and the shade of death.
 Breaks from the settler’s view the deep ravine;
 And there, forgotten of the foot-worn path,
 They let them down—from men they roam afar.
 Earth’s surface (they explore) whence comes forth bread—
 Its lowest depths, where it seems turned to fire;
 Its stones the place of sapphire gems,
 Where lie the glebes of gold.
 A path the bird of prey hath never known,
 Nor on it glanced the vulture’s piercing sight,
 Where the wild beast hath never trod,
 Nor roaring jackal ever passed it by.
 Against the granite sends he forth his hand;
 He overturns the mountains from their base.
 He cutteth channels in the rocks;
 His eye beholdeth every precious thing.
 From weeping bindeth he the streams,
 The deeply hidden brings he forth to light.”*

The general aspect of the Peninsula is barren, desolate, and dreary. It is an ocean of sand, hard gravel, and rock, but covered more or less with thorns and fragrant herbs, on which the camels feed, and broken here and there by oases, romantic valleys, and lofty moun-

A Romance of Ancient Egypt, ch. 34 (Engl. translation, ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II., p. 156).

* Translation by Tayler Lewis, in the American edition of Lange, p. 116.

tains. Every now and then you see a few camels, a herd of goats, a rude tent, and some roaming Bedawin, but no village, no sign of civilization, and no dwelling fit to live in except the convent of Mount Sinai.

The Wadys—a name of constant occurrence in the Desert—are dry water-courses, sometimes very broad, which in the rainy season receive the torrents from the mountains, and carry them to the sea (compare Psalm 68:7-9). But the rainfall is rare, and evaporation so rapid, that in a few minutes the ground is dry and thirsty again. During the whole month of March I saw not a drop of rain, while other travellers in the same season were overtaken by thunderstorms on Mount Sinai. We may travel for days without a drop of water from the sky above or the earth beneath; but occasionally we are surprised by fountains and little rivulets, and alongside of them are small tracts of tropical vegetation, with palm-trees, acacias, tamarisks, juniper-trees, and shittim-wood.

These oases are most delightful and refreshing to the weary traveller. They are found chiefly in the granite region, in the neighborhood of Serbâl and Sinai. The narrow Wady Feirân, where water and vegetation abound, is the most beautiful and attractive oasis in the wilderness. The monks of St. Catharine avail themselves of every little stream to plant gardens of vegetables, olive-trees, peach, and apricot.

The principal mountain groups are (1) the northwestern cluster above Wady Feirân, with Serbâl as its king; (2) the eastern or central cluster, of which Mount Catha-

rine is the highest, but Mount Sinai the most remarkable in the whole Peninsula ; the southeastern cluster, commanded by Umm Schomer. Mount Sinai is most familiar and most frequently ascended. Mount Serbâl is very difficult of ascent, and rarely ascended. Umm Schomer has only been once or twice ascended, first by Burckhardt (though only in part), and a few years ago (1869) by the party of the English Ordnance-Survey Expedition. It was formerly regarded as the highest mountain of the Desert, but according to the measurements of the Ordnance Survey it is lower than Mount Catharine.

The mountains of the Desert are "the Alps unclothed," or the naked Alps. They are less varied and attractive than the Swiss Alps, being denuded of verdure, forest, meadows, snow, and glaciers ; but in terrible grandeur and sublimity they equal Mont Blanc, the Matterhorn, and the Jungfrau. Their isolation makes them appear greater than they are. "Nature seems here to show," says Professor E. H. Palmer, "that in her most barren and uninviting moods she can be exquisitely beautiful still."

In the time of the Exodus, when the Peninsula contained a considerable population and large colonies of Egyptian miners, it was no doubt better supplied with water, wood, and vegetation than now. This lessens the difficulty connected with the forty years' wanderings of the Israelites. Yet, considering their large number, it is quite necessary to take into account the supernatural supply of food and water as recorded in the sacred narrative. At present the Peninsula is utterly neglected and

barely able to support a few thousand roaming Bedawin, with their camels, sheep, and goats. But the time may come when railroads will connect Egypt with Syria, and when, under a good government and with an industrious population, parts of the Desert may be made to "bloom like a garden."

CHAPTER XVI.

'AYÛN MÛSA AND THE EXODUS.

In the Wilderness—A Restful Day—Ayûn Mûsa—'Twixt Two Continents—Date-Palms and Tamarisks—A Noted Spot—The Exodus and Route of the Israelites—Three Theories—The Traditional Theory—Robinson's Theory—Brugsch's Theory—The Hebrew *Te Deum*.

AYÛN MÛSA, or the WELLS OF MOSES, about seven miles southeast of Suez, is the first station in the wilderness on the route to Sinai. We reach the city of SUEZ by railroad from Cairo, through the land of Goshen, *viâ* Zigazig and Ismailia, in a day's journey, and there we meet our dragoman and the caravan which started two days before directly through the Egyptian desert. We spend a night and half a day at Suez in a large hotel, served by silent Indian waiters; we watch the East India ships and the strong tide; we chat with some English officers; we wander on the shore and through the town, and then bid farewell to Egypt and Africa. Our first and last thought in this lonely place, which is simply a halfway house to India, is of the Exodus of the Israelites.

We leave Suez by boat (on Saturday noon, March 3) for the Asiatic shore, while the camels and luggage are sent on the longer land route, round the head of the gulf. We are carried over the shallow waters on the

shoulders of stout Arabs, mount the ship of the desert ready to receive its burden, and after a ride of about two hours we reach the tents before dark, to rest for the night and for the following day, our first Sabbath in the wilderness.

And oh how welcome the sweet day of rest in the unbroken silence of the great wilderness! And doubly welcome was every one of the four that followed, after a week's weary ride over the arid sand, under the scorching sun of Arabia. I thought I was sound on the Sabbath question, but I confess, never before did I feel so deeply the benevolent design of this primitive institution, which, like the family, dates from Paradise, and was proclaimed anew from Mount Sinai among the ten fundamental commandments, for the physical and spiritual benefit of man. Our whole party looked forward to the day of rest as a necessity and a blessing for man and beast. The camels need it, and man needs it to rest his body and to refresh his soul. And what can be more refreshing than to meditate on things invisible and eternal, to commune with God, to read the good Book, and to sing the sweet songs of Zion in the lonely tent or under the canopy of heaven? I find that Dr. Robinson had the same experience of the peculiar charm of a Sabbath in the desert.

AYÛN MÛSA is a green oasis in the sandy desert and a most interesting and welcome place of rest and meditation. Here is the boundary between two continents, which confront each other like two giants in majestic repose. Two miles off is the river-like sea so famous in

nistory, and beyond it, on African soil, towers the silvery mountain of Atâkah. There are at Ayûn Mûsa five vegetable gardens, with a dozen or more springs of water (Robinson counted seven, Porter mentions more than twelve, Stanley seventeen), a few Arab huts, lofty date-palms, and tamarisks. We are strongly reminded of Elim (Exod. 15 : 27); but this must be farther off, as Moses wandered three days after crossing till he reached Elim (ver. 22). Close by the oasis is a sand-hill, with a solitary palm-tree and a fountain of brackish water. We walked along the seashore, gathered rare and beautiful shells, took a refreshing bath, and mused over the potent memories of the past. The color of the water is bluish-green, and the "Red" Sea has its name from the red sand on the shore. The Hebrews and Egyptians called it the Sea of Weeds or the Sea of Reeds. "Every step," we say with Ebers, "reminds us here of the Bible, and we understand it better and better."

In this neighborhood is the traditional locality of one of the greatest events in ancient history, which left its mark upon all subsequent ages. Here Moses refreshed and rested his people after crossing the Red Sea. Here he sung with Miriam and the children of Israel the Song of Deliverance (Exod. 15 : 1-19).

THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES.

The Scripture data about the Exodus are as follows :

The Israelites started from Rameses and proceeded to Succoth (Exod. 12 : 37); thence to Etham "in the edge of the wilderness" (13 : 20); here they were to



“turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon” (14:2). With these notices must be compared the list of camping stations which Moses wrote down by the commandment of the Lord, Num. 33:2-10: “These are their journeys according to their goings out. And they journeyed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month. And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth. And they journeyed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. And they journeyed from Etham, and turned back unto Pi-hahiroth, which is before Baal-Zephon: and they pitched before Migdol. And they journeyed from before Hahiroth (or, from Pencha-

hiroth), and passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness; and they went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah. And they journeyed from Marah and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees: and they pitched there. And they journeyed from Elim and pitched by the Red Sea."

When the Egyptians came upon the track of the Israelites they said, "They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in" (Ex. 14:3), or rather, "the wilderness is closed against them," *i. e.*, the Israelites have no egress from Egypt; they must either return or cross the sea. Moses intended to go by the way of the wilderness, but when he turned southward by Divine command, he was shut in by the waters of the Red Sea which then probably extended farther north to the Bitter Lakes. This indicates the general locality of the Exodus and seems conclusive against Brugsch's theory. (See below.)

As to the particular locality of these stations before the arrival of the Israelites at the Red Sea there is considerable uncertainty. Rameses, the place of general rendezvous—where the Israelites must have been very numerous, since they built or enlarged that city—may be identified, as Dr. Brugsch does, with Zoan (Tanis), where Moses performed his miracles, or be placed farther south on the old canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea. Succoth must have been halfway between Rameses and Etham. It is usually derived from the Hebrew word which means booths, shepherd's camp; but Ebers con-

nects it with an Egyptian town Sechet (Fields).* Etham was probably the same with Pithom (Pi-tum), and the frontier city towards the wilderness, between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, where the route to Palestine branches off. Pi-hahiroth, an Egyptian word, is usually identified with Ajrud or Agrud, a fortress on the way from Etham to Suez. Migdol, *i. e.*, Tower or Fort, is supposed to be Bir Suweis, about two miles from Suez. Baal-Zephon must have been likewise near Suez or Kolzum, perhaps it is identical with Mount Atakah.† Baal was the chief deity of the Phœnicians, who had at a very ancient period a settlement in lower Egypt.

The miraculous passage itself is thus recorded in Exodus 14:21, 22: "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and Jehovah caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left."

There are three or four theories about the locality and mode of the Exodus:

1. The Arab tradition locates the Exodus several miles south of Suez, between the promontory of Atakah and the opposite shore of Ayûn Mûsa, where the Red Sea is about ten miles (Robinson says twelve miles,

* *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 506.

† This is the view of Dr. Ebers (p. 510, sq.) who assumes that there was a sanctuary of Baal on the top of Atakah. Dr. Brugsch on the contrary identifies Baal-Zephon with Mount Casius on the shore of the Mediterranean. (See below.)

Porter seven miles) broad. This view seems to accord best with a literal meaning of the narrative, that the waters were *divided* and stood up like a wall or like entrenchments on *both* sides of the passing army. But it is impossible that 600,000 armed men with women and children, and their herds of cattle, could have crossed such a distance in one night, without a prodigious accumulation of miracles. And would the Egyptians have dared to follow the Israelites through the deep sea, and in view of such an amazing and overpowering interposition of God? Could the east wind or any wind have such an effect on the sea so wide as it is here? And if not, why is it mentioned at all as an agent?

2. That the event occurred at the head of the gulf, near or some distance north of Suez. The gulf has the shape of a horn, and is a shallow channel less than a mile wide and about four miles long, running from north to south. In it are several small islands and sandbanks, bare when the water is low. (See J. L. Porter's Handbook.) It may have extended as a reedy marsh considerably farther north, perhaps as far as the Bitter Lakes. The crossing took place during the time of an extraordinary ebb, which was hastened and extended by a continuous night storm blowing from the east (northeast) against the water, and laid bare the whole ford for the passage of the Israelites; after which the sea, in its reflux, returned with double the usual power of the flood tide, and overwhelmed Pharaoh's army. In ordinary times, many a caravan crossed the ford at the head of the gulf at low ebb before the Suez Canal was built; and Napoleon, deceived by

the tidal wave, attempted to cross it on returning from 'Ayûn Mûsa in 1799, and nearly met the fate of Pharaoh. But an army of 600,000 could, of course, never have crossed it without a miracle. The question is only whether the miracle was immediate or mediate; in other words, whether God suspended the laws of nature, or whether he used them as agencies both for the salvation of his people and for the overthrow of his enemies. The express mention of the "strong east wind" which Jehovah caused to blow "all the night" decidedly favors the latter view, which is also supported by an examination of the spot. The tide at Suez, which I watched from the top of the Suez Hotel, is very strong and rapid, especially under the action of the northeast wind.* This wind often prevails there and acts powerfully on the ebb tide, driving out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, while the more northern part of the arm would still remain covered with water, so that the waters on both sides served as walls of defence or entrenchments to the passing army of Israel. In no other part of the gulf would the east wind have the effect of driving out the water. Dr. Robinson calls the miracle a "miraculous adaptation of the laws of nature to produce a required result." The same view is adopted by other modern scholars. It does not diminish the miracle, but only adapts it to the locality and the natural

* Dr. Ebers says (p. 101), "*Bei einem starken Nordostwinde, der nicht selten weht, werden die Wellen nach Süden zu in den schmalen Meerbusen geradezu hineingepeitscht, so zwar, dass die in horizontaler Linie nördlich von Suez sich hinstreckenden vier Inseln nur durch Lachen getrennt zu sein soheinen, jedoch thatsächlich durch tiefe Wassergraben von dem Festlande und von einander geschieden sind.*"

agency which is expressly mentioned by the Bible narrative.*

3. The least satisfactory theory is that recently elaborated by Dr. Brugsch. He locates the Exodus farther north, on the usual route from Egypt to Syria, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Sirbonian Lake, east of Port Said. This lake was a long and narrow sheet of water, now filled with sand, but well known to the ancients, and is described by Diodorus as being overgrown with seaweeds and papyrus, so as to deceive travellers, who might easily mistake the surface for dry land, and perish in it. The Israelites passed safely over the narrow strip of land between the waters of the sea and the waters of the lake, and then suddenly turned, by divine command, southward, and arrived in three days at Marah—*i. e.*, the

* I will also quote from Prof. E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus* (1871), Vol. I., p. 36: "From the narrative in Exodus 14, it would seem that the Egyptians came upon them before they had rounded the head of the Gulf, so as to compel them either to take to the water or fall into their enemies' hands, equally fatal alternatives, from which nothing but a miracle, such as that recorded, could have saved them. But natural agencies, miraculously accelerated, are mentioned as the means employed by God in working out this signal deliverance, and we need not, therefore, suppose anything so contrary to the laws of nature as that the children of Israel crossed between two vertical walls of water in the midst of the deep sea, according to the popular mode of depicting the scene. Some writers have imagined that a great change has taken place in the level of the sea since the time of the Exodus, but recent examination does not at all confirm this hypothesis, while there is abundant evidence that the northern end of the Gulf of Suez has been gradually silted up, and that in consequence the shore-line has steadily advanced farther and farther southwards. It follows from this that, if, according to the view held by many modern authorities, the passage took place at the head of the Gulf as it existed at the time of the Exodus, the Israelites must have crossed at a point several miles north of its present limits."

Bitter Lakes of the Isthmus; while the Egyptians, on their hot pursuit, were overtaken by a sand-storm, lost their way into the Sirbonian Lake and perished there.

Dr. Brugsch supports his theory by the alleged identity of the Hebrew camping-stations with supposed old Egyptian localities. He identifies Rameses, whence the Israelites started, with Tanis or Zoan; locates Pi-hahiroth on the western end of the Sirbonian Lake, and Baal-Zephon at the eastern end of it; he identifies the Sea of Weeds (which in our version is always translated the Red Sea) with the Sirbonian Lake, Marah with the Bitter Lakes, and Elim with Aalim (Fishtown) or Heroopolis, northeast of Suez.*

But these identifications are mere conjectures, and the whole theory is inconsistent with the Mosaic narrative, which assumes a direct route to the mount of God. It is expressly said that "God led them, not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near" (that is the usual route through the little desert to Gaza), "but through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." (Ex. 13:17, 18.) Dr. Brugsch dislocates the whole itinerary of the Israelites before and after the Exodus, and does away with the miracle altogether, or resolves it into a mere providence.†

The choice lies, therefore, between the first two views. We prefer the second. But the precise spot can, of

* See his address before the International Society of Orientalists in London, *L'exode et les monuments égyptiens*, Leipzig 1865 (35 pages), accompanied by a map.

† He says himself (p. 32): "*Le miracle, il est vrai, cesse d'être un miracle; mais la Providence divine maintient toujours sa place et son autorité.*"

course, not be identified. It is not likely that any of Pharaoh's chariots will ever come to light, or that any monumental record of the Egyptians will confess their disgrace. Possibly some papyrus may be found with a private account of the great event. Till then we must here as in other disputed localities be satisfied with the identification of the general locality.

After crossing the Red Sea the Israelites, like all modern travellers, would naturally make Ayûn Mûsa their first station, where they found an ample supply of water.

On this memorable spot we read, as we never read before, that wonderful patriotic ode of liberty which Moses composed and sung with the children of Israel; chorus answering to chorus, and the maidens playing on the timbrels. It is the national anthem, the *Te Deum*, the *Nun danket alle Gott*, of the Hebrews. It is altogether worthy of the historic event which inspired it. It sounds through the psalms of Israel, through the thanksgiving hymns of the Christian church, through the touching songs of liberated slaves, and it will swell the harmony of the hymns of saints in heaven, when they celebrate the final triumph of redemption in "the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."

I will sing unto Jehovah,
For he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider
Hath he thrown into the sea.
Jehovah is my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation.
This is my God, and I will praise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.

Jehovah is a man of war ;
Jehovah is his name.
Pharaoh's chariots and his hosts
Hath he cast into the sea :
And his chosen captains
Are sunk in the Red Sea.
The depths cover them.
They went down to the bottom like a stone.

Thy right hand, O Jehovah, glorious in power,
Thy right hand, O Jehovah, dasheth in pieces the enemy.
And in the greatness of thy majesty
Thou overturnest them that rise up against thee :
Thou sendest forth thy wrath,
It consumeth them like stubble.
And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up ;
The floods stood upright as a heap.
The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.
The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake,
I will divide the spoil,
My soul shall be satisfied upon them ;
I will draw my sword,
My hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with thy wind,
The sea covered them :
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.

Who is like unto thee, O Jehovah, among the gods ?
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders ?
Thou didst stretch out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.
Thou in thy mercy didst lead the people
Which thou hast redeemed.
Thou didst guide them in thy strength
To thy holy habitation.

The peoples have heard, they tremble :

Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.

Then were the chiefs of Edom dismayed.

The mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold upon them.

All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away ;

Terror and dread fall upon them.

By the greatness of thine arm they are as still as a stone ;

Till thy people pass over, O Jehovah,

Till the people pass over

Which thou hast purchased.

Thou shalt bring them in,

And plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,

The place, O Jehovah, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,

The sanctuary, O Jehovah, which thou hast established.

Jehovah shall reign for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM 'AYUN MUSA TO MOUNT SINAI.

Hawarah, the Bitter Water—Wady Ghurundel (Elim)
—Wady Useit—Wady Taiyibeh—Encamped by the
Red Sea—The Hot Baths of Pharaoh—The Mines
of Maghara—Wady Mokatteb and the Sinaitic In-
scriptions—Wady Feiran—Rephidim—Mount Ser-
bal—The Pass of the Wind—First Sight of Er
Rahah, the Convent and Mount Sinai.

WE leave 'Ayûn Mûsa early on Monday and ride for two days over a dead level of sand and gravel without seeing a house or a man or an animal or a tree, only every now and then the skeleton of a camel which marks the track. In this region Dean Stanley was overtaken by a roaring and driving sand-storm, which lasted a whole day and explained to him the term "howling" wilderness. The whole air, he says, was filled with a tempest of sand driving in your face like sleet; the Bedawin rode with their shawls thrown over their heads, and half of the riders sat backwards; while the camels moved painfully onwards, seriously impeded by their saddle-bags which act like sails, and stretching from time to time their long necks sideways to avoid the blast. We had a similar experience in crossing the Et Tih.

On the third day we reach Ain HAWARAH,* a solita-

* "Fountain of Destruction," according to the usual interpretation. But Mr. Palmer spells the word with double w (*Hawwarah*) and explains it to mean "a small pool."

ry dilapidated spring of bitter water on an elevation, sixteen hours' camel ride from 'Ayûn Mûsa. It is usually identified with MARAH (Bitterness), mentioned Exod. 15:22, 23 (comp. Num. 33:8, 9): "So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea (the Sea of Weeds), and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness and found no water. And when they came to Marah they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter. Therefore the name of it was called Marah." Moses then threw a tree or aromatic shrub into the water and made it sweet. It seems impossible, however, that a single fountain like that could have quenched the thirst of two millions, who it is supposed would require 33,000 buckets of water in one day. Probably there were more springs at that time.

A ride of two hours brings us to Wady GHURUNDEL (or Gharandel), which is usually identified with the ELIM of the Scripture (Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9); while others locate Elim farther south in Wady Useit or Wady Taiyibeh. It certainly must have been in this neighborhood. Ghurundel is the first pleasant spot we meet with in the wilderness. It might easily be turned into a garden. It has a running brook with sweet fresh water, fringed with feathery tamarisks, wild acacias (or shittim-wood), a few palm-trees and plenty of shrubs and grass.

"Oh! I bless the gracious Giver
For the fountain and the river!
Bless him for this cool retreat,
So reviving and so sweet!

Bless him for this short recess
From my toil and weariness,
And for this delicious cup
From the well that cometh up!"

On the next day after a ride of two hours and a half we come to Wady USEIT, which rivals Ghurundel in abundance of water and vegetation. In the afternoon of the same day we encamp, under the shadow of a beautiful rock and alongside of a stream, in Wady TAIYIBEH (or Tayabeh) which is the third claimant to the title of Elim.

From this spot we enjoy a delightful morning walk through a wild romantic valley enclosed on both sides by high granite rocks of fantastic formation and gorgeous coloring, red, black, and yellow, to the Gulf, and take a most refreshing bath in the blue waters of the sea. Here no doubt the Israelites, a month after their departure from Egypt, "encamped by the Red Sea" (Num. 33:10), and looked over once more to the distant shores of Egypt, before they entered the wilderness of Sin "which is between Elim and Sinai" (Ex. 16:1). In the neighborhood are the HOT BATHS OF PHARAOH, where the persecutor of Israel literally breathed his last and is still boiling in punishment of his sin. This local tradition contradicts the other that he was drowned near 'Ayûn Mûsa; but the contradiction does not trouble the minds of the Arabs, who believe that what is far distant on earth is very near with Allah. Mohammed rode in one night on his steed from Mecca to Jerusalem, up to Paradise, and back again to Mecca!

We now pass through a succession of dry valleys

with magnificent rocks and mountains, to the region of the turquois mines at MAGHARA (Wady Igne) which were worked by the ancient Egyptians at intervals for about seventeen hundred years. Hieroglyphic inscriptions mention the names of Pharaohs from Cheops (Chufu), of the fourth dynasty, down to Rameses II.; but the name of his successor Menephthah is not to be found, and this may be used as another incidental proof that he is the Pharaoh of the Exodus (see Chap. X., p. 101). Some years ago an enterprising Scotchman, Major Macdonald, whose hospitality Dr. Brugsch praises, reopened these mines, but without much success, and died in poverty. The ruins of his house on a hill are all that remains.

The next place of interest is Wady MOKATTEB, so called from the famous Sinaitic inscriptions on the rocks. They consist principally of proper names of pilgrims, traders, carriers, written mostly in Nabathean, some in Coptic, Aramaic, Arabic, and Greek characters, with rude figures of men, camels, horses, lizards, shields, arrows, crosses. They are found all around Mount Serbâl, but especially here. Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited the Peninsula A. D. 535, supposed them to be the work of the ancient Israelites, miraculously preserved as testimonies to the truth of the Mosaic narrative; but they seem to be mostly of post-Christian origin, from the second to the fourth century. Lenormant traces them to early Christians; Sharpe to Jews from Egypt before and after Christ; Ebers partly to Christians, partly to Nabatheans who worshipped the sun and the stars on Serbâl and other high mountains. The language is understood by

some to be Aramaic, by others Arabic. The inscriptions afford an inviting field for the exercise of linguistic and palæographic skill. They have been carefully examined by some German and English scholars, especially by Beer (1840),* Ebers (1872),† and Sharpe (1875),‡ who deciphered the alphabet, but in a different way. Sharpe (the author of "the History of Egypt") finds in them the frequent occurrence of the name "Jao" (Jehovah), the words "memorial" and "peace-offering," and lamentations over the ruined city of Jerusalem and the scattered people of God.§ But most of the inscriptions seem to be

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SPECIMENS OF THE LETTERS AND FIGURES.

* *Inscriptiones veteres, litteris et lingua hucusque incognitis ad Montem Sinai magno numero servatae.* Lips., 1840.

† *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 165 seq. ; 554 seq.

‡ *Hebrew Inscriptions, from the Valleys between Egypt and Mount Sinai, in their Original Characters. With Twenty Plates.* London, 1875.

§ Here are some specimens :

"A peace-offering to the city. Accept her that is made to wander, O Jehovah."

"A peace-offering for her that is trodden to the ground."

"Lengthen the broken city, the cast-off nation."

as worthless as the inscriptions of modern scribblers and tourists who wish to immortalize their obscurity by disfiguring the works of God or the monuments of man. The whole subject needs further investigation.

Wady FEIRAN is the most beautiful and interesting valley of the Peninsula. It is several miles long with many windings, and ends in a natural gate of rocks of nature's primitive foundry. It is enclosed by rugged cliffs rising over a thousand feet. It contains a large and fertile oasis with a fresh fountain and running brook, an abundance of date-palms, tamarisks, and thorn-apples, small plots of wheat and barley. Several hundred Arabs assemble there in harvest. Stanley says that he never looked on "scenery at once so grand and so strange," and cannot conceive of "a more interesting country for a geologist." Feirân was once an episcopal see (the ancient Pharan or Paran) and thickly populated by hermits.

The ruins of a church and convent and village, and a few Arab huts are still standing. Innumerable tombs and cells on the hills remain as the silent witnesses of ancient asceticism. On a monastic tradition of this region Professor Ebers has constructed his latest eastern novel, *Homo sum* (1878), which shows that human nature cannot be entirely destroyed by ascetic self-mortification, and is exposed to the temptation of the devil in the lonely desert, as well as in the crowded city. The monks embraced the Monophysite and Monothelite heresy, and were rebuked by the orthodox synods and emperors. Feirân went down as the convent of St. Catharine

went up, and Serbâl was thrown into the shade by Sinai.

Lepsius, Ebers, Stanley, and all the members of the Ordnance Survey Expedition (with the exception of F. W. Holland) identify Feirân with REPHIDIM, where Israel fought the Amalekites (Exod. 17:8-16; Num. 33:14, 15), because they would naturally occupy and defend so fertile a district against invaders.* But there are two objections to this view: 1, that at Rephidim there was "no water for the people to drink" (Exod. 17:1), while Feirân has an abundance of water; 2, that it was only a day's journey from Sinai (19:1: "the *same day* they came into the wilderness of Sinai"); while Feirân is nearly two days' march from it. Rephidim must therefore be farther southeast and nearer Sinai, unless we regard (with Lepsius and Ebers) Serbâl as the true Sinai. Mr. Holland places Rephidim twelve miles from Mount Sinai, in a gorge El Watiyeh, in the Wady esh Sheikh, where the Arabs show a detached rock not unlike an arm-chair in shape, as "the Seat of Nebi Mûsa" (the Prophet Moses), which Moses may have occupied during the battle with the Amalekites.†

From Wady Feirân the ascent of Mount Serbâl is made; it is a hard day's work, but the view from its lofty peaks pays for the fatigue; it is the most extensive in the Peninsula. The question whether Serbâl or Sinai is

* Lepsius, *Reise nach der Halbinsel des Sinai*; W. Palmer, *The Desert*, etc., pp. 158 seq., and p. 49; Ebers in Bâdeker's *Unter-Ägypten*, pp. 519, 520. But Lepsius and Ebers differ from Stanley and Palmer on the Serbâl-Sinai question. See Chap. XVIII.

† *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 421

the true Mount of God, will be discussed in the next chapter.

We now proceed to the Wady Solâf and Wady esh Sheikh and encamp at the foot of Nugb Hawa near a fountain. Here we are glad to enjoy the rest of the second Sabbath in the wilderness and read in the Psalter, in the books of Exodus and Numbers, and the descriptions of Mount Sinai in our guide books.

The NUGB HAWA or Pass of the Wind, is one of the most rugged, precipitous and sublime mountain passes, and forms a magnificent portal or propylon to "the Mount of God." It is impassable for the baggage-camels, which are sent on a detour of six or eight miles through the Wady esh Sheikh. It reminded me of St. Gotthard and other Alpine passes of Switzerland.

After severe climbing over granite rocks to the summit of this Alpine pass of the desert, the vast Wady Er Râhah (Valley of Rest), the fortlike convent of St. Catharine, and Mount Sinai in all its awful majesty, burst upon our sight, and we seem to feel the immediate presence of the infinite Jehovah, and to witness one of the greatest events in the history of mankind. "Whatever," says Dean Stanley, "may have been the scene of the events in Exodus, I cannot imagine that any human being could pass up that plain and not feel that he was entering a place above all others suited for the most august of the sights of earth."

CHAPTER XVIII.

MOUNT SINAI.

Mount Sinai and the Mount of Beatitudes—The Terrors of the Law and the Promises of the Gospel—Impressions—Jebel Musa and Ras Sufsafeh—The True Mount of God—The Claims of Serbal.

MOUNT SINAI, or Horeb,* is the chief object of interest in the Sinaitic Peninsula. A visit to it is an ample reward for all the trouble and fatigue of the journey through the wilderness.

From the throne of the Mount of God the purest and sublimest code of laws was proclaimed for all ages of the world. The Decalogue is a moral miracle greater than the physical miracles wrought in Egypt, and is the best evidence of the divine legation of Moses—that mighty man of God who towers high above ancient and modern legislators. But there is One greater than Moses; and the Sermon on the Mount, which contains the Magna Charta of Christ's kingdom, is better, as it goes deeper and aims higher, than the Ten Commandments. There is a poetic fitness in the correspondence between these two codes and their locality. Mount Sinai in the frowning wilderness is the appropriate pulpit for the proclamation of the law which threatens death and damnation

* The two names are identical. (Compare Exod. 3:1; 18:5; Deut. 1:6; 5:2; 1 Kings 19:8.) The one probably designates the whole range, the other a particular mountain, as they do at the present day.

to the transgressor; the Mount of Beatitudes on the smiling lakeshore of Galilee is the best pulpit for the gospel of freedom, which promises life and salvation to the humble and penitent that hunger and thirst after righteousness.

Sinai looks like "a huge altar" of incense. There it stands in solemn silence and solitary grandeur, surrounded by death and desolation, and reflecting the terrible majesty and holiness of God. In ascending Jebel Mûsa and Râs Sufsâfeh, where Moses communed with the infinite Jehovah as no other mortal ever did, I was overwhelmed with this idea. Such a sight of terrific grandeur and awful majesty I never saw before, nor expect to see again in this world.

At the same time I felt more than ever before the contrast between the old and new dispensations: the severity and terror of the law, and the sweetness and loveliness of the gospel. Blessed be God that we "are not come unto the mount that might be touched and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of the trumpet, . . . but unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel." (Heb. 12:18-24.)

"The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth

came by Jesus Christ" (John 1:17). Sinai is in bondage with her children; Jerusalem above is free (Gal. 4:22-26). But the law was the schoolmaster to lead us to Christ by bringing us to a knowledge of sin and a sense of the need of redemption. It contained, under a hard shell, the sweet kernel of the gospel. God could not command his poor fallen creatures to do his will without intending to give them the ability and showing them the way of salvation from the curse of the law. On the same Mount Sinai Jehovah appeared to Elijah, not in the raging storm, not in the earthquake, not in the consuming fire, but in the still, small voice (1 Kings 19:11, seq.); thus foreshadowing the higher revelation of love and mercy in the gospel. Moses and Elijah, the two prophets connected with Horeb, were permitted to meet, as the representatives of the covenant of law and promise, on the Mount of Transfiguration, and there to behold the greater glory of Him who came to fulfil the law and the prophets, and to speak with him of that greatest of themes—the death which he should suffer at Jerusalem for the sins of the world.

Mount Sinai lies in the midst of a group of mountains,* but is surrounded by valleys. It rises up precipitously from the bottom of the plain of sand and hard gravel to a height of over 2,000 feet, or over 7,000 feet from the level of the sea, and covers about two miles in length from north to south and one mile in breadth.† It

* Exod. 30:12: "to slay them in the *mountains*;" 1 Kings 19:11: "a great and strong wind rent the *mountains* and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord."

† According to the measurements of the English Ordnance Survey,

can be "touched," and the people of Israel could stand "at the nether part of the mount" (in Wady Er Râhah) and listen to the voice of God speaking to them from the northern summit.* It consists of two peaks; the southern peak is called *Jebel Mûsa*, or "the Mount of Moses;" the northern peak *Râs Sufsâfeh*, or "the Peak of the Willow" (probably so called from an old willow-tree beneath the summit at the small chapel of the Virgin Mary). The former is the traditional, the latter, as I take it, the real spot of the giving of the law; but both together must be included in "the Mount of God," and witnessed the grand and overwhelming theophany described by Moses. "There were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled; and Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly" (Exod. 19:16, 18). Then it was that "Jehovah talked with Israel face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice," and that Moses stood between Jehovah and the people to show them the Ten Words of Jehovah, and received them on the two tables of stone (Deut. 5:2, 4, 5, 22). It was then that the heads of the tribes and the elders said unto Moses: "Behold, Jehovah our God hath showed us his glory and his great-

the Convent of St. Catharine is 5,020, Jebel Mûsa 7,359, Jebel Catharine 8,526 (Jebel Serbâl 6,734) feet above the sea.

* Compare Exod. 19: 12, 17; Deut. 4: 11, 12.

ness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire : we have seen this day that God doth talk with man, and he liveth. Now, therefore, why should we die ? for this great fire will consume us : if we hear the voice of Jehovah any more, then we shall die. For who is there of all flesh that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived !" (Deut. 5 : 24-26.)

Guided by a monk of the convent of St. Catharine and accompanied by a few Arabs, we first ascend Jebel Mûsa, partly by camel, partly on foot over rough granite steps cut by the monks for pilgrims between vast rocks of the wildest description. The ascent is comparatively easy and takes three hours. From the lofty peak of Jebel Mûsa the eye looks over the fearful precipice to the desolate and narrow Wady Sebaiyeh below,* then to the two conical peaks of St. Catharine (which, being higher, obstructs the view to the south), and the Gulf of Suez and Gulf of 'Akabah in the far distance. No lake, no brook, no waterfall, no meadow, no forest meets the eye, as from the Swiss mountains ; no sound breaks the stillness, unless it be the voice of storm and thunder, when heavy clouds gather around the peak and the lightning flashes leap down into the darkness. Each rock stands out in its rugged outline and distinctive shape and color, now yellow, now purple, now black, in

* *i. e.* "the Keeper's Valley," in allusion to Moses as "the keeper" of Jethro's flocks. But Palmer (Vol. I., p. 137) makes it to mean "the valley of the Brave Youth." The monks inconsistently locate the battle of Rephidim in this valley. But Rephidim was a day's journey from the wilderness of Sinai (Ex. 19 : 1, 2).

the dazzling brightness of the sunlight. A chapel of the Holy Trinity, which contains some Greek and Russian service-books, is erected on the top; the ruins of a mosque and several spots memorable in the history of Moses and Mohammed are shown; for the place is alike sacred to the Christians, the Jews and the Mohammedans.

Here on the plateau of Jebel Mûsa, as already remarked, the monastic tradition locates the scene of legislation, and it is very natural that it should select the highest summit as the throne of God from which he spoke to Israel. Ritter (who never was there, but carefully examined all reports of travellers), Tischendorf (who visited Sinai three times, 1844, 1854, and 1859, but was much more interested in the library of the convent than in the topography), Laborde and others defend the tradition and claim that Wady Sebaiyeh, at the foot of Jebel Mûsa, was sufficiently large to accommodate the army of Israel and to enable them to witness the theophany. But it did not strike me so as seen from the mountain top. Sebaiyeh is narrow, broken, and uneven, and does not run up close to the foot of Jebel Mûsa so that this might be touched and surrounded by the people. If therefore we can find a better locality in the same Sinai group, we need not hesitate to give it the preference and to exercise our judgment in discriminating between the general truth of the tradition and the error in its minor details. This superior locality we find on the northern peak of Sinai.

Coming down from Jebel Mûsa, we lunch at the

double chapel of Moses and Elijah.* It lies on a plateau surrounded by high walls of rock, which afford shelter, while the neighboring "Fountain of Elijah" supplies water. Around it are plots of green grass and some tall cypresses. Here the two prophets may have rested and refreshed themselves during their forty days' retreat. Behind the chapel we enter the cave in which Elijah lodged and God appeared to him in "a still small voice" (1 Kings 19:9, seq.). Whether this vision occurred in this particular spot or not, it is one of the most remarkable in the history of revelation. Then we descend to "the Fountain of Elijah," and wind our way through wild ravines and gorges till we come to a rude chapel dedicated to the "Holy Zone of the Virgin Mary," and an old willow-tree which gave the name to the peak, and from which Moses is said to have cut the miraculous rod with which he smote the rock of Horeb.

Then we climb with difficulty and some danger over granite blocks to the giddy height of Râs Sufsâfeh. Here on a projecting rock we rest an hour, looking down on the vast plain of Er Râhah and the adjoining Wadys of esh Sheikh and Leja, and looking beyond to the amphitheatre of mountains which wall them in, and meditating over the past which here assumes the character of a present overpowering reality. We are lost in amazement at the panorama of terrible sublimity of nature, and the immeasurable significance of that historic event which is

* This is the true name of the chapel (instead of the usual designation, "the Chapel of Elijah and *Elisha*," as given by Palmer, Bâdeker and others). So the guiding monk informed me and directed me to the pictures of Moses and Elijah. Elisha had nothing to do with Horeb.

felt to this day all over the world as far as the Ten Commandments are known and read. It is difficult to imagine a more solemn and impressive sight.

We then descend a steep ravine (imagining that we follow the track of Moses, *Exod.* 32:17, 19), over confused heaps of rocks to the valley *Er Râhah*, and return to our camp near the convent. It was the most fatiguing as well as the most interesting day's work of mountain climbing I can remember.

I fully satisfied my mind that *Râs Sufsâfeh* is the platform from which the Law was proclaimed. Here all the conditions required by the Scripture narrative are combined. Moses may have received the Law on the higher *Jebel Mûsa*, but it must have been proclaimed to the people from *Râs Sufsâfeh*, which can be seen from every part of the plain below.* For *Er Râhah* is a smooth and gigantic camping ground protected by surrounding mountains, and contains—as has been ascertained by actual measurement—two millions of square yards, so that the whole people of Israel could find ample room and plainly see and hear the man of God on the rocky pulpit above.† Dean Stanley relates that “from the

* Such a distinction between a higher and lower summit of Sinai seems to be indicated in the passage *Exodus* 19:20 seq.: “And Jehovah came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and Jehovah called Moses up to the top of the mount, and Moses went up. And Jehovah said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people. . . . So Moses went down unto the people and spake unto them. And God spake all these words, saying,” etc.

† “A calculation made by Captain Palmer, from the actual measurements taken on the spot, proves that the space extending from the base of the mountain to the watershed or crest of the plain is large enough to have accommodated the entire host of the Israelites, estimated at two

highest point of Râs Sufsâfeh to its lower peak, a distance of about sixty feet, the page of a book, distinctly but not loudly read, was perfectly audible; and every remark of the various groups of travellers rose clearly to those immediately above them." Descending from that mount through a ravine between two peaks, Moses and Joshua might have first heard the shouts of the people before they saw them dancing round the golden calf. (Exod. 32 : 17, 19.) In one word, there is the most complete adaptation of this locality to all the circumstances of the Sinaitic legislation as described by Moses. Tradition is for Jebel Mûsa, the Bible for Râs Sufsâfeh. But after all they form but one mountain (as do the five peaks of Serbâl), and tradition in this case is at least very near the truth.

The same conclusion was reached by Dr. Robinson, who first ascended Râs Sufsâfeh (on his visit in 1838), and who first pointed out this spot as the true locality,*

million souls, with an allowance of about a square yard for each individual." *The Desert of the Exodus*, Vol. I., p. 117. Robinson likewise measured Er Râhah and found it to be two geographical miles long and from one-third to two-thirds of a mile broad, or equivalent to a surface of at least one square mile. This space is nearly doubled by the recess on the west and by the broad and level area of Wady esh Sheikh on the east, which issues at right angles to the plain. *Researches*, Vol. I., p. 95 (ed. of 1856).

* See *Biblical Researches*, Vol. I., pp. 106, 107 : "While the monks were here employed in lighting tapers and burning incense, we determined to scale the almost inaccessible peak of es-Sufsâfeh before us, in order to look out upon the plain, and judge for ourselves as to the adapt- edness of this part of the mount to the circumstances of the Scriptural history. This cliff rises some five hundred feet above the basin; and the distance to the summit is more than half a mile. We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course, but found the rock so smooth and pre-

by Dean Stanley, who was there in 1852,* Dr. J. L. Porter,† and by all the members of the English Ordnance Survey Expedition of 1868-1869, under the lead of Captains Wilson and Palmer of the Royal Engineers.‡

cipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous course. From the head of this ravine we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages, which give to this part, as seen from below, the appearance of architectural ornament.

"The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain Er Râhah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent wadys and mountains; while Wady esh Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with and opening broadly from Er Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord 'descended in fire' and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord 'came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene, and read, with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction, and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator. Exod. 19:9-25; 20:1-21."

* *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 76 (Am. ed.): "I am sure that if the monks of Justinian had fixed the traditional scene on the Râs Sufsâfeh, no one would for an instant have doubted that this only could be the spot."

† *Handbook for Travellers in Sinai and Palestine*, p. 71 (ed. of 1875): "The mountain, the plain, the streamlet, and the whole topography correspond in every respect to the historical narrative of Moses."

‡ See the report of Rev. F. W. Holland, in *Recovery of Jerusalem* (London and New York, 1871), p. 412, and Professor E. H. Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus* (Cambridge and New York, 1871), Part I., pp. 112 seq. Holland visited Sinai four times, and Palmer travelled on foot over the Sinaitic Peninsula for eleven months. Holland says: "The members of



MOUNT SERBAL.

On the other hand, some distinguished scholars still plead for Serbâl as the Mount of God, especially Lepsius,* Ebers,† and Sharpe.‡ Let us consider their arguments.

1. Serbâl was early regarded as a sacred mountain, and is identified with Sinai by Eusebius, Jerome, and the monk Cosmas, who was there himself in the sixth century. But the tradition of Jebel Mûsa is stronger, and from the age of Justinian well-nigh unanimous.§

2. The Sinaitic inscriptions even to the top of Serbâl. If these were really of Hebrew origin, according to the theory of Samuel Sharpe, they would indeed prove that Serbâl was a place of pilgrimage for Jews, though by no means from the time of Moses, for the 179 inscriptions which he translates make no allusion to the legislation and the wanderings, and imply the destruction of Jerusalem.|| Other scholars trace the inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb and its neighborhood mostly to Nabathean or

our Expedition were as unanimous in their conviction that the Law was given from Râs Sufsâfeh to the Israelites assembled in the plain of Er Râhah, as they had been unanimous in rejecting Serbâl as the mount of giving the Law."

* *Briefe aus Ägypten*, etc., 1852; and *Reise nach der Halbinsel des Sinai*, 1876.

† *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, pp. 380-426. See also Bäcker's *Ägypten*, 1877, Vol. I., p. 522, where Ebers defends the same view. He accounts for the transfer of the sacred tradition from Serbâl to Jebel Mûsa by the bad repute of Pharan for heresy in the fifth century.

‡ *Hebrew Inscriptions from the Valleys between Egypt and Mount Sinai*, London, 1875, p. 4.

§ Palmer came to the conclusion (p. 5) "that the claims of Serbâl are comparatively modern, and that tradition points to the neighborhood of that mountain rather as a site of Rephidim than of Sinai, and that the true traditional Sinai is Jebel Mûsa."

|| See above p. 166.

heathen origin. It is quite likely that Serbâl was sacred to the old heathen inhabitants of the desert, as Ritter* assumes. In any case, those inscriptions are not conclusive, as they are found also in Nugh Hawa, round Jebel Mûsa, in the valley Leja, and in remote wadys of the Peninsula.

3. Serbâl attracted at an early date a large number of Christian pilgrims and anchorites. But this may be accounted for by the fertility of Wady Feirân, and the large number of caves in the surrounding rocks.

4. It seems strange that Serbâl, if it be not the Mount of God, should not be mentioned in the Exodus, since the Israelites reached it first. But the omission of any mention of the Sinai group would be equally strange.

5. Wady Feirân, in the immediate neighborhood of Serbâl, has the requisite water and pasturage for a long sojourn of a large army. But the same is true of the Sinaitic group, where there are several streams of running water and fruitful gardens planted by monks.

6. Serbâl equals Jebel Mûsa "in massive ruggedness, in boldness of feature and outline ;" and although falling 625 feet beneath the height of Sinai—being only 6,734 feet above the level of the sea—it looks more imposing at a distance. But its five magnificent peaks can be seen at once only from one of the neighboring hills, and in part from a few spots in Wady Feirân.

7. The battle of Israel against the Amalekites at Rephidim (Exod. 17:8) must have been fought in the

* *Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, Vol. I., p. 316 seq. (Gage's condensed translation.)

Wady Feirân, because the Amalekites would not have surrendered so fertile an oasis to an invading army without a struggle; and Rephidim was *near* "Horeb," where Jethro visited Moses, his son-in-law, after the battle (Exod. 17:6; 18:5; comp. 19:1, 2 and Numb. 33:15); while the traditional Sinai is two days' journey from Feirân. But, on the other hand, Serbâl is only two miles from Wady Feirân, too near for a day's journey; and Rephidim, where there was "no water for the people to drink" (Exod. 17:1), so that Moses smote the rock of Horeb (ver. 6), cannot have been in Wady Feirân with its fountains and running streams, and must be sought somewhere else between Serbâl and Sinai.* But even if we locate it in Feirân, it is not impossible that the chiefs of Israel might have reached the wilderness of Sinai in one day by the shorter route over Nugb Hawa, while the host took the easier route through Wady esh Sheikh.

The most conclusive argument, however, against Serbâl as the Mount of God is the entire absence of an open and sufficient space where the people could assemble so as to stand "under the mountain" and to touch its "nether part." This indispensable geographical condition is met fully, and met only, in Wady Er Râhah, beneath the northern peak of Mount Sinai. However well suited Serbâl may have been for *receiving* the law, it was unsuited for the *giving* of the law within the hearing of the people; while Râs Sufsâfeh was equally suited for both.

* See Chap. XVII., p. 168.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONVENT OF ST. CATHARINE.

Foundation of the Convent—St. Catharine—Hospitality—The Church and the Mosque—The Chapel of the Burning Bush—The Chamber of Skulls—The Library—The Codex Sinaiticus—Dr. Tischendorf—The Monks and the Arabs—Jebel ed-Deir—Excursion to Wady Leja.

NEXT to Mount Sinai itself, the Convent of St. Catharine, at its base, is the most remarkable object of interest in the Peninsula. It has recently arrested the attention of scholars in connection with the most important literary discovery of the age, which has proved of great service in settling the original text of the New Testament.*

The Convent of Mount Sinai dates from the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, the famous legislator and builder, (A. D. 527–565), who reared the magnificent church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. He fortified and endowed the little church of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, “on the spot where God spake with Moses.” It was at first dedicated to the Transfiguration, but afterwards

* The best accounts of the Convent before the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus we owe to Pococke, Burckhardt, Robinson, and Ritter. Since the discovery, Tischendorf (in his *Reise in den Orient*, Leipz., 1846, and *Die Sinaibibel; ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe und Erwerbung*, 1871), E. H. Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, Part I., pp. 56–78), and Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872, pp. 250–309), have given us the fullest and most authentic information.

to St. Catharine (Katharina), a famous saint of the Greek and Russian Church, the patroness of Christian learning and philosophy, after whom several Russian empresses were named. According to tradition, based in part on Eusebius (who, however, does not mention her name), she was a virgin of noble birth, great wealth, and rare scholarship in Alexandria, and suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Maximinus (Nov. 25, 313), after resisting the beastly lusts of the tyrant. The legend adds that she was first put upon an engine made of four wheels with sharp spikes, but the engine was broken by the invisible power of an angel (hence "St. Catharine's Wheels"). About five hundred years after her death the Christians in Egypt, then groaning under the yoke of the Saracens, discovered her remains. Angels transported the body (or at least the head) through the air from Alexandria to the top of Jebel Catharine; there some pious monks discovered it, and carried it to its final resting-place in the Convent. The more intelligent Greeks say that "angelic" monks carried her bones from Alexandria to the Convent of Sinai, that they might enrich it with such an invaluable treasure; and Alban Butler* adopts this interpretation, adding that monks, "on account of their heavenly purity and functions, were anciently called 'angels.'" The legend of St. Catharine has its antecedents in the Egyptian myth of the transfer of the corpse of Osiris from the banks of the Nile to Mount Lebanon, and in other heathen fables.† It is the Greek pendent to the Latin legend of the miraculous

* *Lives of Saints*, sub. Nov. 25.

† See Ebers, p. 281 seq.

transportation of the house of the Virgin Mary from Nazareth to Loretto, in Italy. A skeptical Protestant may take comfort from the fact that, in rejecting the Eastern miracle he is supported by the Latins, and in rejecting the Western miracle he is supported by the Greeks.

If the system of monasticism commends itself as a benevolent institution anywhere, it is on the Alpine passes of the Great St. Bernard, the St. Gotthard, and the Simplon, and in this "great and terrible wilderness," where human enterprise and skill find no inducement and reward, and where Christian charity alone can provide the necessary shelter and comfort to the weary traveller. Unlike the monks of Mâr Saba, those of St. Catharine are not "too holy to exercise hospitality," and even to admit ladies. Formerly, when they were exposed to constant attacks from the wandering Arabs, they drew strangers in a basket to the window at the top of the wall; now, since they are under the protection of Russia, they admit them through the gate on presentation of a permit from the patriarch in Cairo. The reception-room is large, and provided with a table, three divans, and a bed. The monks at once offer simple refreshments, cooling water, dark bread, dates, or coffee, and date brandy ('araki), also little bottles of manna, as a memorial of the miraculous food of the Israelites. They have no fixed prices, but expect a liberal reward, and after you have paid them in solid gold, they demand, before departure, a contribution "for the poor Arabs" whom they have to support, and they hope to receive backsheesh in addition. I could not but smile when I read in their record of vis-

itors the high commendations of travellers, and then good-naturedly added my own acknowledgment of hospitality dearly rewarded. But in such a place and under such circumstances the money is cheerfully paid and usefully employed. It is only once in a man's lifetime that he visits Mount Sinai. It would be unreasonable to expect the attention of monks for nothing. They must live, as well as other people, and no one is more indebted to them than travellers who find shelter under their roof. I was glad to find in the book the names of American friends—Drs. Chambers, Strong, Ridgaway, and Bartlett—who visited Sinai in 1874, and others. Those of Drs. Hitchcock, Smith, and Park, who were there in 1870, I looked for in vain. We did not lodge in the Convent, but in our tent a little distance below, and had the pleasure of spending an evening over the tea-table with two heroic English ladies (Miss Brocklehurst and Miss Booth), whom we also met the next day on the top of Jebel Mûsa.

The Convent of Mount Sinai is a real oasis in the desert, by the traditional sites of the Well of Jethro and the Burning Bush. Its gardens—about twenty in number, within a circumference of five or ten miles—produce vines and vegetables and excellent fruit-trees (apricot, peach, fig, pomegranate, olive, pear). The building is both a monastery and a fort, encompassed by thick and lofty granite walls, with some towers and a variety of structures of different ages and styles of architecture, without unity and symmetry. It is a curious labyrinth. It includes a Byzantine, gorgeously over-decorated church,

where Greek mass is said four times a day ; the Chapel of the Burning Bush, where Jehovah appeared to Moses (the bush is gone, the memorial light is kept burning) ; a subterranean chamber, containing three thousand skulls and bones of departed monks (a horrible sight) ; the cells and workshops of the monks ; little courts ; a reception-hall and adjoining rooms for travellers and pilgrims ; a library ; and, strange to say, a little mosque, with a minaret, to conciliate the good-will of the surrounding Arabs. The monks say that they once possessed a charter from Mohammed, signed with the impression of his own hand, promising them perpetual protection and immunity. The church contains a beautiful mosaic picture of the Transfiguration, the portraits of the Emperor Justinian and his wife Theodora, and the relics of St. Catharine, in a costly sarcophagus presented by the Czar of Russia. It is at this shrine and in the Chapel of the Burning Bush that pious pilgrims, especially from Russia, are absorbed in devotion, and feel amply rewarded for their weary marches over the burning sand of the desert.

The library of the convent has considerable interest for scholars. It is little used, but put in better order since Tischendorf's last visit, in 1859. It contains several hundred written and printed volumes, mostly in the Greek, some in the Arabic, some in the Russian language, many of them worm-eaten, soiled, and torn.*

* Tischendorf counted five hundred manuscripts. Ebers sought in vain for Coptic manuscripts, but thinks that some books in the old sacred Slavonic dialect are worthy of examination for comparative philology. Palmer began to make a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, but was not allowed to finish it.

Those I hastily examined are ascetic and homiletic treatises of Greek fathers. The Codex Aureus, an Evangelistary, once in the archbishop's room, is now in the church. It is one of the most beautiful copies of the Four Gospels, written in gold uncial letters, in double columns, with illuminated pictures of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the four evangelists. It is assigned to the eighth century, and hence not of much critical value. Of modern books, I saw in the library a copy of the *fac-simile* edition, in four volumes, of the Codex Sinaiticus, presented by the Emperor of Russia, Champollion's Pictorial Egypt (a gift of the French government), and a copy of Tischendorf's edition of the Septuagint (probably presented by him). A bust of the present Khedive of Egypt and a collection of photographic views were also on a table.

Twenty years ago this library contained a literary treasure of inestimable value, the most complete and probably the most ancient copy of the whole Greek Bible, with some other valuable documents (the Greek Epistle of Barnabas and a fragment of the Greek Hermas). It is written on parchment in large uncial letters, in four columns, and dates from the middle of the fourth century. The monks were ignorant of its very existence. It took a German scholar to find it out and to rescue it from probable ruin. Dr. Tischendorf has told the romantic story of his discovery of the "Codex Sinaiticus," on three successive visits: first in 1844, when he found, in a basket full of papers destined for the oven of the convent, forty-three leaves of the Septuagint; then in 1853, when

he accomplished nothing ; and finally, in February, 1859, when, under the patronage of the Russian Czar, the protector of the Eastern Church, he obtained the priceless treasure. He was permitted to carry it to Cairo, and to copy it there (working day and night, with the help of Coptic scribes) ; and ultimately secured it as a tribute of duty and gratitude to the Czar Alexander II. I heard the story twice from his own lips, in his study at Leipzig, and when we spent a few days together at Friedrichshafen. He was the happiest theologian I ever knew. He never got over the intense satisfaction and delight of the discovery which would immortalize a man of far less learning and merit than Tischendorf. His indomitable perseverance in the search and subsequent publication (in three forms) is almost without a parallel in the history of literature. He lived long enough (till 1874) to utilize this and all other important sources of the text in the critical apparatus of the eighth edition of his large Greek Testament, in two volumes ; but the Prolegomena, which were to form a separate volume, are left to a young American scholar in Leipzig (Dr. Gregory) to elaborate from his materials and other contributions.

The Sinai Bible is now in possession of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Thus the Russo-Greek Church possesses Codex Aleph. (Sinaiticus) ; the Roman Church, Codex B (Vaticanus) ; the French Church, Codex C (of Ephraem the Syrian) ; the Anglican Church, Codex A (Alexandrinus, in the British Museum) and Codex D (in Cambridge) ; while Protestant Germany has none of the most famous and valuable uncial manu-

scripts, but has done more than any other nation towards utilizing all of them for the cause of Biblical learning.

The monks feel very sore at the loss of this their greatest literary treasure. They positively assert that it was only loaned to Tischendorf, to copy it, in Cairo, and that it was finally stolen from them. They deny that the emperor of Russia ever paid them a copper for it. On my remonstrance the prior admitted that the emperor offered to pay, but that they refused it, and demanded the manuscript instead, though in vain. I distinctly recollect that Prof. Tischendorf, as he informed me, recommended to the Czar to give the Convent a very large sum for the book, besides the new costly shrine for the bones of St. Catharine; and it seems incredible that no reparation should have been made for such a loss, which was a great gain to the Christian world; for these ignorant monks could never have made use of it, and Biblical scholars could not travel to Mount Sinai to examine it. Moreover, Tischendorf showed me two Greek letters of the Archbishop Calistratos, full of Oriental compliments and expressions of gratitude to the German professor, and stating that the Codex Sinaiticus was presented to his majesty the Czar, the Autocrat of all the Russians, as a testimony of eternal devotion.*

It is not impossible that patient research in the library may result in some other literary discovery, although of far inferior importance. It would be worth while for

* ἡ περιώνυμος αὕτη βίβλος ἐδωρήθη εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς αἰδίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Σινᾶ εὐγνωμοσύνης. See extracts from these letters in Ebers, pp. 375, 376.

a Biblical and patristic scholar to spend some weeks in the Convent for the purpose. But their experience with Tischendorf has made the monks very cautious and suspicious.

There are at present only thirty monks at the Convent, which is said to be very wealthy. They seem to enjoy good health in this pure, dry, desert air, and attain to an old age. They lead a simple, temperate, idle, monotonous, and stupid life. They are vegetarians, and drink no wine, but are said to indulge occasionally in date-brandy, which is distilled behind the kitchen. They speak Arabic and Greek. One only spoke Italian. He is an intelligent and friendly person, who guided us round and acted as interpreter with the others. He hails from Corinth. Another conducted us on our ascent to Jebel Mûsa and Râs Sufsâfeh, and in the excursion to Wady Leja; he was kind and good-natured, but as he spoke only Greek and Arabic, we could not easily converse with him. He seemed delighted when we repeated the beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount. The other monks make no favorable impression as to intelligence or knowledge. Some are sent there for punishment. Dean Stanley and Professor Palmer censure them for not having converted a single Arab, or made a single contribution to the knowledge of the geography, the geology, or the history of a country which has been committed to their charge for thirteen centuries. I asked a monk why they did not at least attempt to educate and civilize the Arabs, who are their serfs, if they dare not Christianize them, under the Turkish government. He replied: "These

Arabs are camels, who only care for the bread of the Convent." Still, we should never ungratefully forget that the Convent of St. Catharine has preserved for the Christian world the only complete uncial manuscript of the Holy Scriptures.

Before we leave Mount Sinai we will add a brief notice of the surroundings. They are replete with silly legends which disturb the gravity of a Protestant traveller, and yet show the deep local impression of the Mosaic events.

The Convent lies between Jebel Mûsa and *Jebel ed Deir*, or "the Mount of the Convent." Dean Stanley ascended it, and found there on the highest level a natural basin thickly covered with shrubs of myrrh, which he thought best suited for the feeding of Jethro's flocks in the seclusion of the mountain.

Farther north lies Jebel Sona, or *Seneh*, which retains the old Scripture name, and looks right into Er Râhah and Wady esh Sheikh, and might set up a plausible rival claim against Râs Sufsâfeh, but it is far less imposing.

We spent half a day in an excursion to Wady *Leja* and *Deir el-Arba'in*, i. e., "the Convent of the Forty," namely, "Martyrs." Starting from our camp below the Convent, we pass the Hill of Aaron, an elevation on which the golden calf was erected; then a hole in the rock on the plain, which is pointed out as the Mould of the Calf, although it has no more resemblance to a calf than to any other animal; next a piece of rock where the Tables of the Law were broken, and a hole in which they were buried. Then we turn from Er Râhah into the

narrow Wady Leja.* It has an abundance of water, and was once filled with hermits. Many Sinaitic inscriptions are found on the rocks. We soon come to "*the Rock of Horeb*," which Moses smote with his rod and made a fountain to refresh the murmuring Israelites (Exod. 17:6). The Arabs call it Hagar Mûsa, "the Stone of Moses."† It is an isolated block of red granite, with twelve crevices on each side, as so many fountains for the twelve tribes, but yields not a drop of water now. It followed the Israelites through the wilderness and returned to its place! It is thus identified with "the spiritual rock" spoken of by Paul, who means Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). So the credulous Greek monk informed us without an apparent doubt. The place is also shown where the earth opened its mouth to swallow up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for their rebellion against Moses and Aaron (Numb. 16:31-33). This is a palpable anachronism, for the rebellion of Korah occurred in Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran, long after the departure of Israel from Sinai (Numb. 13:26).

About twenty minutes farther south is the convent *el-Arba'in* (or, as our guide called it, the τεσσαράκοντα μάρτυρες). It is dedicated to the forty monks who were cruelly murdered by a robber band of heathen Arabs in the year 373 or 400.‡ In the chapel are pictures of Christ, the

* Probably from the Arab tradition which mentions Safuzijah (Zippora) and *Liza* as the two daughters of Jethro. Ebers, pp. 336 and 580.

† See a picture of it in De Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, p. 68, and a description in Ebers, p. 337.

‡ The tradition rests on good foundation, the reports of Amonius and Nilus as eye-witnesses. See the extract from Nilus in Ebers, p. 345.

Virgin, St. Michael, and the Forty Martyrs. The building is now deserted, but undergoing repairs by an Italian, who kindly offered us coffee. In the neighborhood are five orchards and olive-groves, with an abundance of fresh water. The fruit of the trees is said to be excellent. From Wady Leja the ascent of Mount Catharine, the highest in the Peninsula (8,526 feet), is made; it is toilsome, but is amply rewarded by a grand panorama over this world of desolation.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM MOUNT SINAI TO HEBRON.

The Testimony of the Wilderness to the Truth of the Bible—The Itinerary of the Israelites—The Desert of the Wanderings—The Wady esh Sheikh—A Mohammedan Saint—Last Sight of Serbal—Crossing Jebel Et Tih—Nakhl—A Bedawin Fight—Approaching the Holy Land—Gaza—Samson—The Greek Church—Protestant Mission Schools—From Gaza to Hebron.

A VISIT to the Sinaitic Peninsula goes far to strengthen one's faith in the truthfulness of the Mosaic narrative against the attacks of skeptical critics who have never been there. A recent explorer, who accompanied the English Ordnance Survey Expedition, closes his account with the statement that "not a single member of the expedition returned home without feeling more firmly convinced than ever of the truth of that sacred history which he found illustrated and confirmed by the natural features of the Desert. The mountains and valleys, the very rocks, barren and sun-scorched as they now are, seem to furnish evidences which none who behold them can gainsay, that this was 'that great and terrible wilderness' through which Moses, under God's direction, led his people."*

From 'Ayûn Mûsa to Mount Sinai we can verify the account of Exodus and the invaluable itinerary of the

* Rev. T. W. Holland, in *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 429.

thirty-third chapter of Numbers in every essential feature. We find support and illustration in the striking correspondence of the present localities with the Biblical descriptions and the character of the events which took place there. The wild Arab traditions, too, are full of recollections of the great Nebi Mûsa, and testify to the indelible impression which the leader of Israel made on the inhabitants of the Peninsula and their descendants to this day.*

We can go a little farther, to Hazeroth, the second permanent encampment beyond Sinai. It may without difficulty be identified with 'Ain Hudherah. Professor von Schubert, and afterwards Dean Stanley, saw, before arriving at Hudherah, in the evening and morning, the flight of innumerable large, red-legged cranes three feet high, with black and white wings, literally darkening the sky, in striking confirmation of the incident mentioned in Numb. 11 : 31 : "And there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea and let them fall by the camp." We can also follow the Israelites at the end of their journey when they moved southward towards the Gulf of 'Akabah. We can identify Ezion-Geber (*i. e.*, the giant's backbone), Mount Hor, Edom, and Moab. As to Kadesh, where Israel "abode many days" (Deut. 1 : 46), where Miriam died (Numb. 20 : 1), and whence the spies were sent to Canaan (Numb. 13 : 3, 26 ; 32 : 8), there is a difference of opinion ; Robinson and Porter locate it in 'Ain el Weibeh in the neighbor-

* On the Mohammedan history of the Exodus, compare the Appendix of Palmer, II., pp. 533 seq.

hood of the passes of Sufkâh and Figreh, immediately below the southern border of Palestine; Stanley in or near Petra; Rowlands and Palmer at 'Ain Gadis on the border of the Negeb in the desert of Et Tîh, about fifty miles south of Beersheba and forty miles west of 'Ain el Weibeh.

The thirty-eight years which lie between the first and the last years of Israel's sojourn in the Peninsula are devoid of mighty events such as took place in the beginning and the end. It was a period of punishment and uncertain wanderings, a record of murmurings and sorrows. The rebellion of Korah, the death of Miriam, the second miracle of striking the rock, and the sin of Moses which excluded even him and Aaron from the promised land, are almost the only incidents during this meagre period. It is impossible as yet to identify all the camping-stations mentioned in Numb. 33: 17-35, and again in ver. 41-48, except Mount Hor, Edom, and Moab. Ritter, who mastered every source of information down to his time, says that the course of the Israelites, after they had received the law, is to us *terra incognita*. Stanley speaks in a similar way.

Since that time E. H. Palmer, accompanied by C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, in behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, has wandered on foot over the greater portion of the Desert Et Tîh, Idumæa, and Moab (1869-1870), and published the results of his researches, with valuable maps and illustrations, in the second part of *The Desert of the Exodus*. He lays much stress on his identification of Kadesh with 'Ain Gadis, as forming the key to the

movements of the Israelites during their wanderings. But Kadesh must be sought on the "uttermost (*i. e.* the western) border" of Edom (Num. 20:14, 16) and not very far from Mount Hor (ver. 22; 33:37), unless we distinguish (with Reland) two places of that name, one near Edom, in the wilderness of Zin, and one with the affix "Barnea" (Numb. 32:8; Deut. 2:14), in the northern plateau of Et Tîh.

The Bâdîet Et Tîh, *i. e.*, "the Desert of the Wanderings," indicates by its name that it was the scene of the wanderings of Israel, and identical with "the wilderness of Paran" (Num. 10:12; 12:26; Deut. 1:1). It is emphatically "that great and terrible wilderness" of which Moses speaks, Deut. 1:19. Its dreary monotony corresponds to the comparative emptiness of that long period of punishment, when the whole generation of those who had emigrated from Egypt and witnessed the great miracles in the western and southern part of the Peninsula, died away; as we read in the Prayer of Moses: "We are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled. Thou hast set our iniquities before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy countenance. For all our days are passed away in thy wrath: we spend our years as a tale that is told" (Psa. 90:7-9).

The Desert Et Tîh is a vast and irregular limestone plateau, which extends along the southern boundary of Palestine from Gaza and the Mediterranean in the west to the Dead Sea in the east, and projects southward like a wedge into the Sinaitic Peninsula, as this itself projects into the Red Sea. It borders in the north on what is

called the "Negeb," or "South Country" of the Bible (*i. e.*, the country south of Palestine), with the pastures of Gerar (Gen. 10 : 19 ; 20 : 1), where the patriarchs pastured their flocks. It is walled in on the south by a chain of mountains of the same name. The Desert Et Tîh is dry and barren, but covered more or less with parched herbage. It is a pasture-land, as distinguished from an agricultural country, and becomes more fertile as it approaches Palestine. It has no traces of former habitation and cultivation, like the Serbâl and Sinai region, but occasional sepulchral stone circles, which resemble the Druid monuments in England and Scotland. It was no doubt in a far better condition at the time of the patriarchs and Moses than ever since.

We shall now briefly describe our northern route from Sinai to Nakhî and Hebron through this dreary desert. It would be far more interesting to take the longer route to 'Akabah and Petra if the war among the Bedawin would allow it.

We leave the camp below the Convent of Sinai, and pass through the long Wady esh Sheikh, the king of the Wadys, covered with shrubs and stunted trees. It is called after the Sheikh Sâlih (Nebi Sâlih), a Mohammedan saint mentioned in the Koran as a venerable and eloquent patriarch. A rude monument, or Weli, is erected to him at the dividing line of the road to 'Akabah. Here the Towarah Bedawin, who revere him as their ancestor, perform their devotions. In May they keep a festival, which is the great national event of the year, and consists of dromedary races, the sacrifice of sheep, and feast-

ing, and winds up with an ascent of Jebel Mûsa and an offering to the Prophet Moses.*

On the next day we come once more in sight of the majestic Serbâl. In crossing Nûkber-Rakineh, a high and rugged pass of Jebel Et Tîh, we had to march against a fearful hurricane, which several times blew down the poor baggage-camels. We found no shelter or resting-place, and wondered how we got to the other side of the mountain to the fountain Abu Nuteighineh and into the Wady El Arish.

About half way from Sinai to Gaza and half way between Suez and 'Akabah is NAKHL (or Nukhl), an Egyptian fort, manned by about thirty savage-looking soldiers, for the protection of the Mecca pilgrims. It is provided with a large cistern, and surrounded by a number of Arab huts for the wives and children of the soldiers. The governor received us very politely, took us over the fort, and treated us to figs, raisins, and the inevitable coffee and cigarette. His best room is furnished with carpets, two chairs, and a few cushions. As soon as we entered, his wife ran out as fast as she could. It is difficult to imagine a more dreary place for residence than on this dead level of sand and gravel, without an object for the eye to rest upon.

At Nakhl the territory of the Towarah Bedawin ceases, and that of the more savage Teyâhah begins. Palmer represents them from his experience as a set of robbers, who pursue plundering with a profound feeling

* See an account in Palmer's *The Desert of the Exodus*, I., 202-204, and Bâdeker's *Ägypten*, I., 544.

of conscious rectitude and respectability, like those Chaldeans who fell upon the camels of Job, carried them away, and slew his servants with the edge of the sword (Job 1:17). They were at war with the neighboring tribes of the Terabin and Haiwat, and two hundred were reported to have been killed or wounded on both sides. These petty fights were of far greater interest to the people in the desert than the impending war between Russia and Turkey. The sheikh, a commanding-looking man, diverted us from our intended route to Beersheba and Hebron (although we were willing to run the risk of danger), and made us pay an extravagant sum (£17, or \$85) for permission to pass through his territory without him. The governor, who listened to our negotiations over the supper-table, made many polite bows, but did nothing whatever to protect us against the imposition. Perhaps he had a share in the plunder. We learned that on the previous day a larger party of English travellers, consisting of Messrs. Jansen of Chislehurst, Murray Anderson, Rev. Mr. Selwyn, and others, were imposed upon in the same way. It is but due, however, to Mr. Cook, under whose protection we travelled, to say that his agent in Jerusalem (Mr. Floyd) readily refunded the money.

After five days of weary marches from Nakhel we encamped on the rich domain of the Philistines, within a few miles from Gaza, and spent there our last Sabbath in the wilderness. The dragoman in the mean time rode to Gaza and telegraphed to Jerusalem for horses. To be even within the reach of a telegraph is like passing from

midnight to the light of day ; but it is almost the only sign of modern civilization in Turkish dominions. We were agreeably surprised in camp by a visit from some of the English party above alluded to, who met our dragoman at Gaza and returned with him. They informed us of their adventures in the wilderness, their disappointment in not seeing Petra, although they had paid a portion of the extra backsheesh, and of their indignation at the conduct of the sheikh at Nakhl. They told us, to our surprise, that they and we were reported to be killed or imprisoned by the Bedawin, and that Mr. Cook's agent had requested the Pasha of Jerusalem to send a force after us. These false reports arose from the wars among various tribes at the time. But all we saw of the war was some armed Bedawin going to and returning from the scene of action.

We are now on the very borders of the Holy Land, which once was flowing with milk and honey. The heart beats higher and higher in anxious expectation, and we greet with joy the multiplying indications of fertility and industry. We part with regret from our faithful Towarah Arabs who had accompanied us on the whole journey from Suez, but we feel happy and thankful for our deliverance from the barren desert.

GAZA is an Arab town of about 15,000 inhabitants. It lies in a very fertile region, two miles from the seashore. It is the place where Samson, the Hercules of Jewish history, took his last revenge on the Philistines. Two pillars of granite, which he is said to have pulled down, destroying himself and 3,000 enemies assembled

at a feast, are still shown. The Moslems are proud of him, and claim him as one of their own faith, although he lived two thousand years before Mohammed. We saw the mosque, which is an old Christian church, the Greek church and school, and—what interested us most—three Protestant schools for boys and girls, which Mr. W. Pritchett, an aged and palsied Englishman, established from pure Christian benevolence. The old gentleman could not speak a word without trembling all over, and yet he kept no servant. His teachers are two ladies from the schools of the late Mrs. Thomson in Beirut, and Salih Nassar, a pupil of the noble Dr. Calhoun of Mt. Lebanon, who died in America in Dec., 1876; he spoke of his teacher in most grateful terms, and was moved to tears when I informed him of his death. The Arab children delighted us with singing “Rock of ages cleft for me.” At Gaza we also saw, in the telegraph-office kept by an Englishman, the “Weekly London Times,” which was quite a luxury after a month’s hunger for news.

As soon as our horses and mules arrived we started for Beit Jibrin (the ancient Eleutheropolis), where we again met with our English friends in a pleasant evening chat, and on the next day for Hebron. We were obliged to make a detour to avoid the warring Bedawin. We passed over rolling wheat-fields and stony hills, and saw ploughs worked by cows and camels. The hill-country between Beit Jibrin and Hebron is naturally very beautiful and fertile, but needs running brooks and trees. A ride of two days brought us from Gaza to Hebron.

THIRD PART.
THE
HOLY LAND.



THE
HOLY LAND
IN THE
TIME OF CHRIST.

Scale of Miles
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
American Tract Society
150 Nassau St. New York.
Drawn by J. Hart



Longitude E. 33 30 of Greenwich

35

24 30

THIRD PART.

THE HOLY LAND.

CHAPTER XXI.

HEBRON.

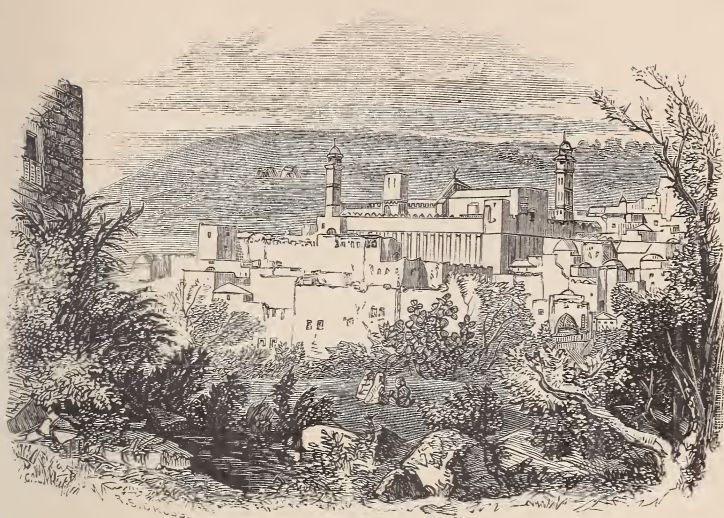
First Impressions of Palestine—Scripture Reminiscences—Abraham's Oak—Hebron, the City of Abraham and David—The Great Mosque—The Machpelah—Recent Disclosures—Mussulman Fanaticism—An Assault and a Satisfaction—The Hills of Judah—Solomon's Pools—From Hebron to Jerusalem.

COMING from a forty years' wandering in the wilderness, Palestine was indeed to the Israelites a land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Though fearfully desolate and neglected now, we can even yet everywhere see the traces of its former prosperity and its capacities for a future resurrection under a better government and with a better population. Its climate and natural fertility are unsurpassed ; its hills and valleys make it a beautiful country, a sort of Switzerland or Wales of the East ; while its historical significance, as the classical soil of revelation and the birthplace of the only true and universal

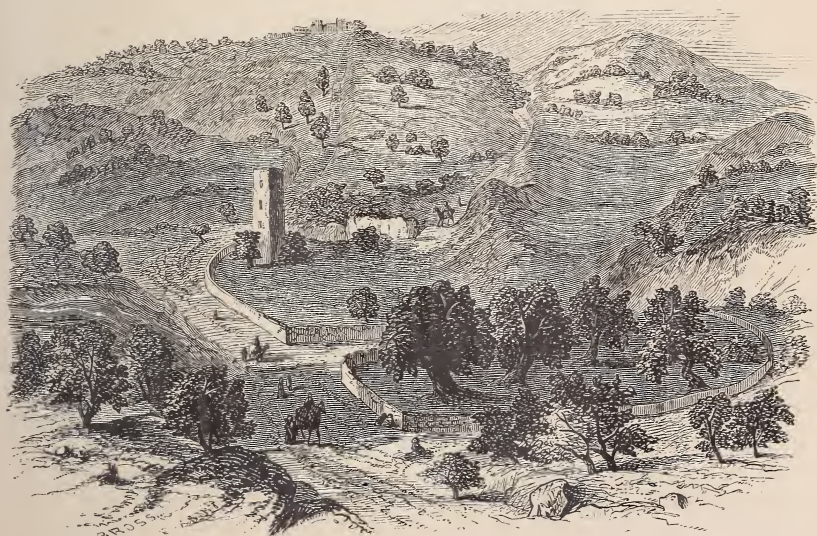
religion, raises it above the most highly favored countries of the globe. The disproportion of its small size to its historical greatness reminds one of Greece. Its length from Beersheba in the south to Dan in the north is only about one hundred and eighty miles, its breadth from the Jordan to the sea not much more than fifty miles ; and yet this little country has done more for the religious and moral, as Greece has done more for the intellectual, progress of mankind than the vast empires of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and Rome. The isolation of Palestine from idolatrous countries by sea and desert was favorable to the development of the pure monotheistic religion ; while its central location between three continents looked to the universal destination and spread of the gospel which was born there.

My first impressions in reaching Palestine from the Desert and in travelling on its southern border from Gaza to Hebron may be briefly summed up in these points : (1) the natural beauty and fertility of the country ; (2) the Swiss-like character of the landscape ;* (3) the abundance of variegated wild flowers and of grain fields ; (4) the absence of rivers and trees ; (5) the want of roads, carriages, wagons, wheelbarrows, and every trace of a good government and enterprising population ; (6) the semi-barbarous character and condition of the inhabitants, both Moslems and nominal Christians ; (7) the richness of Scripture reminiscences and illustrations, which multiply

* Miss Martineau and Dean Stanley, hailing from England, were struck "by the Western, almost the English, character of the scenery," and were reminded of the Lowlands of Scotland and Wales.



HEBRON: THE MOSQUE AND PART OF THE TOWN.



GETHSEMANE, AND MOUNT OF OLIVES.

as we proceed. The ruins of cities on the hills remind us of the "city that is set on a hill and cannot be hid" (Matt. 5 : 14). The luxuriant vineyards and fig-trees at Hebron recall the grapes, pomegranates, and figs which the spies brought from Hebron and the valley or the brook of Eshcol to the camp of Israel in Kadesh-Barnea (Numb. 13 : 22-25) ; and as we see the walls around the vineyards and the watch-towers in the corner for the guard, we have a striking illustration of the parable of the vineyard (Matt. 21 : 33). The Land is a commentary on the Book.

Before we reach Hebron coming from Gaza, we turn off the main road to see the famous OAK (or Terebinth) OF ABRAHAM, about two miles west of the city. It has often been photographed. It is a truly majestic and venerable tree, more venerable than any in the world except the olive-trees of Gethsemane. Its trunk measures thirty-two feet in circumference. Its crown divides into four colossal branches spread out like wings. It is now surrounded by a stone wall and owned by the Russians, who bought the surrounding field and built a fine hospice on the hill above. Already in the time of Josephus there was shown, six furlongs from the city, "a very large turpentine-tree, which has continued ever since the creation of the world."* Here "in the plains" (or rather, "the oaks") "of Mamre" father Abraham courteously received and hospitably entertained the three mysterious visitors "under the tree," in front of the tent, and was informed of

* See *Bello Jud.* Book IV., chap. 9, § 7. Josephus, however, does not connect it expressly with Abraham.

the future birth of Isaac, the son of promise (Genesis 18: 2-9). From here he accompanied the strangers to a hill from which he could look upon Sodom and Gomorrah, and interceded with the Lord for the doomed cities, but in vain, because not even ten righteous persons could be found there (23-33). And early in the morning, coming to the place where he stood before the Lord, "he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace" (Gen. 19: 27, 28).

HEBRON is mentioned about forty times in the Old Testament, but nowhere in the New. Like Damascus, it carries us back to the days of Abraham, as one of the most ancient cities of the world. It was built seven years before Zoan or Tanis, the capital of the Shepherd Kings in Egypt (Numb. 13: 22). It is the city of Abraham, "the friend of God" (Jas. 2: 23), and in honor of him the Arabs call it *El Khulil* i.e., "the Friend" (of Allah). Here he built an altar unto the Lord, and walked and communed with him (Gen. 13: 18). Here he bought from Ephron the Hittite the cave and field of Machpelah, as the final resting-place for his family. Here the patriarchs spent a large part of their lives. Here David reigned over Judah seven years and six months before he became sovereign of the whole land and removed his residence to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5: 5). Here is the pool over which he hanged up the murderers of his rival Ishbo-sheth (2 Sam. 4: 12). Here he no doubt composed some of his psalms which still kindle the devotions of the people of God all over the world. Hebron is one of the four

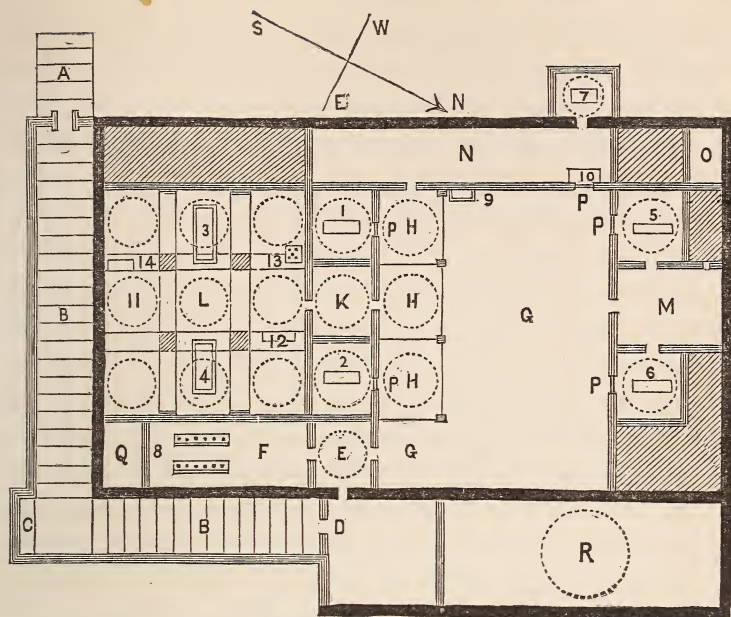
holy cities of Islam (with Mecca, Medinah, and Jerusalem) and of Judaism (with Jerusalem, Safed, and Tiberias). It is situated at the foot of a hill in a well-watered and fertile valley, usually supposed to be the Valley of Eshcol (the Valley of Grapes), unless this is to be sought further south near Beersheba.* It is surrounded by vineyards, olive groves, almond, apricot, and fig trees. It lies 3,029 feet above the sea, about twenty miles or seven hours' ride south of Jerusalem. It passed into the possession of Islam in the seventh century. During the Crusades it was for a short time (1167 to 1187) the seat of a Latin bishopric, but after the disastrous defeat of the Crusaders at Tiberias in 1187 it fell into the hands of Saladin, and has since been a hot-bed of Mohammedan insolence and fanaticism. Its eight or ten thousand inhabitants are all Moslems, with the exception of five hundred Jews. There is not a single Christian family there. The inhabitants manufacture water-skins from goats' hides, lamps, and colored glass rings for female ornaments. As the Mohammedans drink no wine, they dry the grapes and sell large quantities of raisins, or they boil the juice into *debs*, a kind of thick grape molasses, which

* See Numb. 13:22-25; 32:9; Deut. 1:24. It is uncertain whether the valley and the brook of Eshcol (אֶשְׁכּוֹל, a bunch, a cluster, especially of grapes) derived the name from Eshcol, the brother of Mamre the Amorite, and one of the four chieftains who accompanied Abraham in his pursuit of the four robber-kings (Gen. 14:13, 14), or whether he derived it from the valley. It certainly is in the neighborhood of Hebron. Robinson says, "This valley is generally assumed to be the Eshcol of the Old Testament, whence the spies brought back the cluster of grapes to Kadesh; and apparently not without reason. The character of its fruit still corresponds to its ancient celebrity, and pomegranates and figs, as well as apri-cots, quinces, and the like, still grow there in abundance."

is often mentioned in the Bible under the kindred name of *debash*. The houses are built of stone, and many have domes as at Jerusalem.

The most important building is the GREAT MOSQUE (Harâm), a massive and imposing but gloomy structure, about 200 feet long by 150 (according to Tristram, 115) feet wide, and upwards of 50 feet high, with two minarets. It is surrounded by the dwellings of dervishes and the forty hereditary guardians of the mosque. The high wall is supposed to date from the time of David or Solomon. The mosque itself was probably a Byzantine church, like the Great Mosque of Damascus, the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, and St. Sophia in Constantinople. It owns some of the best lands in Philistia and in the plains of Sharon.

But the object of greatest interest in this mosque is concealed beneath its pavement. It is "the double cave," or MACHPELAH, the oldest known burial-place in the world. Here the three patriarchs and their wives (except Rachel, who is buried beneath a little white mosque near Bethlehem) sleep till the morning of the resurrection. Joseph's body, too, is said to have been removed thither from Shechem, near Jacob's well, where his tomb is still shown. There never has been any doubt about the identity of the spot. Such caves are as everlasting as the hills to which they belong. The story of Machpelah is singularly touching. With what solemnity and carefulness did father Abraham acquire this his only property in the Holy Land from his heathen friend Ephron, and make it sure for ever by that first legal con-



SKETCH PLAN OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT HEBRON.

Deep black lines mark the ancient Jewish Wall. Shaded parts unknown.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Shrine of Abraham. | C. Fountain. |
| 2. " " Sarah. | D. Here shoes are left. |
| 3. " " Isaac. | E. Passage chamber. |
| 4. " " Rebekah. | F. Mosque, containing two Shrines. |
| 5. " " Jacob. | G. Outer court. |
| 6. " " Leah. | H. Cloister of arches, with domed roof. The Outer Narthex. |
| 7. " " Joseph. | K. Inner Narthex. |
| 8. " " two Moslem saints. | L. Nave of Byzantine church. |
| 9. Fountain. | M. Room, leading to two Chambers containing Shrines of Jacob and Leah. |
| 10. Raised platform. | N. Do. to that containing Shrine of Joseph. |
| 11. Mihrab. | O. Minaret. |
| 12. Platform for the muezzin. | P. Windows. |
| 13. Aperture leading to Cave. | Q. Minaret. |
| 14. Minbar (or pulpit). | R. The Jâwaliyeh Mosque. |
| A. Steps leading to outer door. | |
| B. Long narrow passage of easy steps, bounded on the left by ancient Jewish wall. | |

tract recorded in history (Gen. 23 : 3-20). The scene comes back to us in all its circumstantial details, as Dr. Thomson shows so graphically from his own experience of bargaining among the Orientals of the present day.* How simple and impressive is the record of the successive interments of the patriarchal families, and the burial of enmities between brothers over the graves of their fathers : first Sarah was buried (Gen. 23 : 19), then Abraham by Isaac and Ishmael (25 : 9, 10), then Isaac by his sons Esau and Jacob (35 : 27-29) ; and last we read the dying request of Jacob in Egypt : " And he charged them and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people : bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burial-place. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife ; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife ; and there I buried Leah " (49 : 29-31). How much of history, how many family joys and family griefs, what bright hopes of immortality and resurrection were gathered in that spot ! How strange that no allusion should be made to it in the later books of the Bible. But Josephus mentions beautiful marble monuments of Abraham and his sons in Hebron, and Machpelah was always regarded as one of the most sacred places on earth.

From the time of its permanent Mussulman occupation in 1187 to 1862, the mosque was most jealously closed to all but Mohammedans, and the Machpelah is closed still. Previous to that year we had but three brief and confused accounts of stealthy visits, especially by a

* *The Land and the Book*, Vol. II., p. 381 seq.

Spanish renegade, Ali Bey. Even the Mosque of Omar and the Mosque of Damascus were opened to foreigners before that of Hebron. At last, by a special firman of the Sultan, and after a great deal of trouble, the Prince of Wales was admitted to the interior in January, 1862, the Marquis of Bute in 1866, and the crown prince of Prussia in 1869.

Dean Stanley, who, together with the Prussian Consul, Dr. Rosen, a learned archæologist, accompanied the Prince of Wales, has given us a very interesting account of this visit.* From it we learn that the patriarchs and their wives have separate shrines, enclosed with gates or railings, but they are empty cenotaphs or monuments in honor of the dead who lie beneath. The shrines of Abraham and Jacob were shown to the visitors, but not those of their wives. When the gate to the shrine of Abraham was thrown open, the guardians groaned aloud, and their chief remarked, "The princes of any other nation should have passed over my dead body sooner than enter. But to the eldest son of Queen Victoria we are willing to accord even this privilege." Then he offered an ejaculatory prayer to Abraham: "O friend of God, forgive this intrusion." Isaac's shrine they were not permitted to enter, for the singular reason that, while Abraham, who interceded for the wicked inhabitants of

† In the second Appendix to his *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, Vol. I., p. 535 seq. (New York, 1863). He also gives the ground plan of the map, drawn by Hon. R. H. Meade and Dr. Rosen immediately after the visit to the mosque. We have reproduced it on a smaller scale. Ferguson's account is contained in "The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem." London, 1865.

Sodom and Gomorrah, was full of kindness and would overlook an affront, Isaac was proverbially jealous, and might resent the insult.

The most sacred and interesting part of the mosque, the dark subterranean cave itself, which contains the remains of the patriarchs, was closed to the distinguished visitors, and could only be seen through a small hole in the pavement. It is uncertain whether even the Moslems enter the Machpelah. Once, they say, twenty-five hundred years ago, a servant of a great king entered, but returned "blind, deaf, withered, and crippled." Since then the entrance was closed, and only the aperture left open, that the holy air may come up and a lamp be let down by a chain upon the grave. Stanley suggests as the reason why neither the Mussulmans nor the Christians have ever explored the cave, that it was no place of pilgrimage. But may it not have been the superstitious fear of fatal consequences?

The mystery which still hangs over Macphelah will be solved at no distant day, when perhaps the embalmed body of Jacob will be brought to light.

As we approached the mosque and looked through the crevices of the dark, huge wall of enclosure, we had a taste of Moslem fanaticism which might have led to serious consequences. Some dervishes and other devotees were just coming down the steep flight of the exterior staircase, and, supposing that we were going to enter the sanctuary, looked very fiercely at us; one of them pushed me back with a violent thrust on the breast, but I quietly stood my ground and asked the dragoman to inform the

governor of the fact. We walked up to the hill behind the mosque pursued by the fanatic, and amid the curses and insults of the children we made our way to our tent near the Egyptian quarantine building. About an hour afterwards, as we sat down to dinner, the governor's secretary, a tall, commanding Turk, appeared with an officer and three soldiers, to make an apology for the violence committed and to offer us his protection. He assured us that he had put the offender in chains, and would keep him in prison as long as we desired. We asked him to let him run the next morning with a sound warning. He informed us that he had, at the direction of the Pasha of Jerusalem, sent ten soldiers into the wilderness to deliver us from the Bedawin. When we told him that we were Americans and Englishmen, he was delighted, and, significantly rubbing his forefingers, he exclaimed, "The Turks and the English are one." A strange compliment. He had fought with the English against the Russians in the Crimean war, and was sure of their help in the conflict which was then daily expected to break out. He left the three soldiers to watch our tent all night (for backsheesh), and, after a long smoke, he took leave with the profoundest bows. Had we thought of it, we might perhaps have obtained permission to visit the interior of the mosque at which the offence was committed. This would have been the best reward for the trouble. We broke camp early next morning without further disturbance, except a little skirmish of our high-spirited and well-armed dragoman with a few insolent Moslems on camels.

From Hebron to Jerusalem is a good day's journey

(seven or eight hours) on horseback. The road is rocky and rugged, and impassable for wheeled vehicles, till you reach Bethlehem. We ride over the barren but beautiful "hill country of Judæa" (Luke 1 : 39, 65), where David wandered in the days of his persecution, where Mary visited her cousin Elisabeth and sung the "Magnificat," the last psalm of the Old Testament, the first hymn of the New.

The first resting-place, after a ride of three or four hours, is "Solomon's Pools," three large reservoirs which supplied Bethlehem and Jerusalem with water, and do so still to some extent, although the aqueducts, like everything else in Palestine, are in a deplorable state of dilapidation. I was informed that a rich and benevolent English lady offered a large sum for their repair, but the offer was refused by the stupid Turkish government. Beside the upper pool is a castle and khan of Saracenic origin, now occupied by the guardian. The lowest and finest pool (582 feet long, 207 broad, 50 deep, according to Porter) is partly hewn in the rock and partly lined with masonry. A stony staircase leads down to the water, in which we took a refreshing bath. The name is derived from the book of Ecclesiastes (2 : 5, 6), where Solomon, among the vanities of pleasure, mentions "gardens and orchards" which he planted, and "*pools of water*" which he made "to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees."

An hour's ride brings us to Bethlehem ; next we pass Rachel's Tomb ; then the Convent of Mâr Elias. Here we get the first glimpse of Jerusalem, and the expecta-



RACHEL'S TOMB.

tion rises higher and higher as we approach the holiest city on earth. But we must stop a few hours in Bethlehem, the first place in Judea where the reminiscences of the Old and New Testaments are blended. Our Saviour, so far as we know, never was south of Bethlehem, the city of his birth, except in the Flight to Egypt during his infancy.

CHAPTER XXII.

BETHLEHEM.

Bethlehem Ephratah—Rachel's Tomb—Ruth and Boaz—David the Shepherd King—Micah's Prophecy—The Incarnation—The Shepherds of Bethlehem and the Wise Men from the East—The Gloria in Excelsis—The First Martyrs—Modern Bethlehem—The Latin Convent—The Church of the Nativity—The Holy Crypt—The Chapel of the Manger—The Chapel of the Innocents—The Study of Jerome—The Latin Bible—The Grotto of the Shepherds—Protestant Schools—Bethlehem and Golgotha.

“Bethlehem! of noblest cities,
None can once with thee compare;
Thou alone the Lord from heaven
Didst for us incarnate bear!” PRUDENTIUS.

BETHLEHEM (House of Bread) is as familiar to us from childhood-days as our own home. At every Christmas, that festival of the renewal of humanity, the hearts of Christendom are gratefully turned to the birthplace of our Lord, and old men rejoice with little children over the Gift of gifts, the Bread of Life from heaven.

Bethlehem is one of the oldest towns in Palestine. It was known to Jacob under the name of Ephrath or Ephratah (the fruitful). A short distance from the place on the road to Jerusalem, his beloved Rachel gave birth to Benoni, the son of her sorrow, and her death was the first consecration of Bethlehem for all future ages (Gen. 35:16-20; 48:7). He erected a pillar on her grave,

which is still sacredly guarded by the Mohammedans in a little white mosque on a hill, from which can be seen the town and the surrounding country. Her sorrow was typical of greater sorrows at the birth of the Man of Sorrows (Matt. 2 : 18). Bethlehem next appears in the charming idyl of Ruth, that model of filial affection and devotion, who became the ancestress of David and of our Lord. Even now women and children may be seen gleaning after the reapers in the grain-fields of the fertile valley as she did in the field of Boaz. In Bethlehem the poet-king and hero of Israel was born, and tended his father's flock. Here he was anointed by Samuel; here he may have composed that inimitable psalm, which represents Jehovah as the Good Shepherd feeding his people on green pastures, and leading them beside the still waters. Travellers still refresh their thirst at "David's Well," a deep cistern hewn in the rock, half a mile north of the town. When in the cave of Adullam, David longed and said, "Oh, that one would give me drink from the waters of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate!" (1 Chron. 11 : 15-19.) To Bethlehem Ephratah the prophet pointed as the birthplace of the Messiah, who shall be a ruler in Israel (Micah 5 : 2).

But what shall we say of that amazing event which forms the turning point in the history of mankind, closing the era of night and death, and ushering in the era of light and life? Jacob and Rachel, Ruth and Boaz, and David himself disappear before Him who was David's son, and yet David's Lord. With unlettered shepherds of the field and the learned sages from the far East who

followed the Star of Bethlehem, we bow in childlike faith before the miracle of miracles, "the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh."

"Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht,
Das glaubet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüth!"

"What a mighty influence for good," says Dr. Robinson, who seldom gives vent to his emotions, "has gone forth from this little spot upon the human race both for time and eternity! It is impossible to approach the place without a feeling of deep emotion, springing out of these high and holy associations. The legends and puerilities of monastic tradition may safely be disregarded; it is enough to know that this is Bethlehem, where Jesus the Redeemer was born. Generation after generation has indeed since that time passed away, and their places now know them no more. For eighteen hundred seasons the earth has now renewed her carpet of verdure, and seen it again decay. Yet the skies and the fields, the rocks and the hills and the valleys around, remain unchanged, and are still the same as when the glory of the Lord shone about the shepherds, and the song of a multitude of the heavenly host resounded among the hills, proclaiming 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men.'"

With all these sacred associations crowding upon the memory, and with beating hearts we approach modern Bethlehem (Beit-lahm), over a ridge of terraced vineyards and gardens with evergreen olives and luxuriant fig-trees, and alight before the stately Latin monastery, which looks like a mediæval fortress. We are not disappointed

in our expectations. The scenes of nature harmonize better than the people with our faith, and yet they contrast favorably with their Moslem neighbors. We are saluted with smiles, and not with scowls, as in fanatical Hebron. Bright children run up to hold our horses and offer us crucifixes, beads, bracelets, and sacred pictures for sale. A kind-hearted cowed Franciscan from Venice politely places the spacious reception-hall at our disposal, treats us to some simple refreshments, then shows us the church of the Nativity and the subterranean chapels, and dismisses us with his blessing.

The town, like Jerusalem and most towns in southern Palestine, is built on a hill. It has an air of industry, thrift, and comfort which are very rare in the East, though not equal, of course, to a town of the same size in Europe or the United States. German industry has of late greatly stimulated the natural fertility of the soil. The wine of Bethlehem is considered better than that of Jerusalem. The flat-roofed houses are built of white limestone, and partly cut in the rock. The inhabitants number about 5,000, and are nearly all Christians of the Greek Church. The Moslem quarter was destroyed by Ibrahim Pasha after the rebellion in 1834. The people are engaged in agriculture, gardening, and the manufacture of relics and sacred ornaments made of olive, mother-of-pearl and Dead-Sea wood. They have a restless and rebellious temper, and formerly lived in frequent strife with their neighbors in Hebron and Jerusalem.

The women of Bethlehem have the reputation of superior beauty, and rival in this respect their sisters in Naz-

areth. Theirs is the Syrian type of beauty: dark eyes, bright faces, noble figures and graceful carriage. Some of them may have crusaders' blood in their veins. It is a remarkable fact that the birthplace of Christ, and the home of his childhood and youth, though dilapidated and groaning under Turkish misrule, should bear witness to the superiority of Christian women over all other women.

"To this day the fields of Bethlehem illustrate many an incident in the book of Ruth. The very salutation, 'The Lord be with you!' and the reply, 'The Lord bless thee!' may be heard as the farmer goes up to his laborers. The supper of the reapers, when the day's work is done, is still the parched corn eaten on the spot—a few bunches of fresh ears, singed in a fire kindled for the purpose, and then rubbed and roughly winnowed by the hand. The large cotton or linen cloth, 'the veil,' which binds down the headdress of the Bethlehemite woman, is very distinct from the female dress elsewhere, and is still, like Ruth's, large enough to hold six measures of barley; and still the owner sleeps by his cornheaps at night, generally with all his family, till the harvest is finished."*

Let us now visit the traditional holy sites which are here crowded together in one spot.

"The Church of the Nativity," or of St. Mary, the oldest in Christendom, was erected by Helena, the mother of Constantine, A. D., 327, on the site of a khan or

* From Canon Tristram's *Bible Places*, p. 74. Compare also Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II., p. 509 seq.

inn in which Christ is believed to have been born. It is the common property of the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians, who have each a stately convent adjoining it. The four rows of Corinthian marble columns (said to have been taken from the temple of Jerusalem), the faded mosaics on the wall, and the roof of cedar-wood from Lebanon, betray its ancient splendor. Unfortunately the jealousy of the rival sects disgraces the building, and a Turkish guard must keep them from open hostility. In the early ages of persecution the heathen were forced to exclaim, "How these Christians love one another!" Now they have reason to say, How these Christians hate one another! Even our saintly monk could not refrain from heaping abuses on the Greeks, to whom he denied every claim to the sacred edifice. The monkish quarrels over the Holy Crypt and the Holy Sepulchre kindled the flame of the Crimean war, and give the Eastern question a European significance. There is little prospect of converting the Moslems before Christians make peace among themselves and approach them with the power of a united faith and a conquering love.

We descend on one of the two spiral staircases to the "Holy Crypt," a cave in the solid rock twenty feet under the great choir. It is the holy of holies, and lighted by ever-burning lamps. We look with reverence on the marble slab with a silver star encircled by the simple but pregnant inscription,

"HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NATUS EST."

It is by no means impossible that this grotto was the

very spot of the Nativity. It seems to have been known already two hundred years before Helena built the church over it. There was no doubt only one inn or khan in the little town, and Joseph and Mary, unable to find room in the overcrowded tavern, sought temporary refuge in the adjoining stable in the cave and laid the child in a manger. We say *temporary* shelter; for they received the visit of the Magi in a *house* (Matt. 2:11). In the East the house and the stable are often under the same roof, and men and cattle not strictly separated. There are many natural caves in Palestine, which afford easy shelter to cattle, and are used as stables.*

We try to enter into the feelings of "the Wedded Maid and Virgin Mother," and to realize the contrast between the "Mater gaudiosa" at the cradle of the infant Jesus and the "Mater dolorosa" at the cross of the dying Saviour.

"Stabat Mater speciosa
Juxta fœnum gaudiosa,
Dum jacebat parvulus—
Cujus animam gaudentem,
Lætābundam ac ferventem
Pertransivit jubilus."

* St Luke (2:7, 12, 16), speaks only of "a manger" in which Mary laid her first-born son, "because there was no room for them in the inn." But already in the middle of the second century Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphone Jud.*, 78), who was a native of Palestine, mentions that Christ was born "in a grotto (ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινί) near Bethlehem," and Origen in the third century (*Contra Celsum* I. 51) speaks of this as publicly known, so that even the heathen regarded it as the birthplace of Christ. Dr. Robinson, as usual, is skeptical, but W. Hepworth Dixon (*The Holy Land*, 1865, ch. 14), ingeniously pleads for the traditional cave, and tries to prove, also, that the inn of the Nativity was the patrimony of Boaz and the home of David.

We are also shown the chapel of the Præsepium or Manger (the *original* manger was long ago carried to Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome), the station of the Magi, the chapel of Joseph, and the chapel of the Innocents slain by the wrath of Herod. A massive column marks the spot where 20,000 martyred innocents were buried. This is, of course, an absurd exaggeration, like most of the monkish legends. But I thought of Matthew's simple narrative, and the hymn of Prudentius, "*Salvete, flores martyrum !*" Those infant martyrs unconsciously bore their bloody testimony to the fact of the incarnation, and are now leading the countless choir of saved infants in heaven.

"Hail, infant martyrs ! new-born victims, hail !
Hail, earliest flowerets of the Christian spring !
O'er whom, like rosebuds scattered by the gale,
The cruel sword such havoc dared to fling.
The Lord's first votive offerings of blood,
First tender lambs upon the altar laid,
Around in fearless innocence they stood,
And sported gayly with the murderous blade."

Whatever be the claim to the identity of these particular spots and the rubbish of superstition which has accumulated over them, it is impossible not to be impressed afresh with the power and beauty of the simple Scripture account of that Christ-child who has been described by a poetic commentator as "the moving centre of the world setting everything in motion ;" attracting all that is genial, repelling all that is hostile ; concealed, yet well known ; hated and feared by the bad, yet longed for

and loved by the good; despised, yet marvellously honored; beset with danger, yet kept in perfect safety.

“Welcome to our wondering sight,
Eternity shut in a span!
Summer in winter! day in night!
Heaven in earth! and God in man!
Great little One, whose glorious birth
Lifts earth to heaven, stoops heaven to earth.”

About one place beneath the same church there can be no historical doubt: it is the chapel, once the study, of St. Jerome. This great scholar divided his life between the East and the West, his enthusiasm between the Roman classics and the holy Scriptures, and achieved the double crown of a monastic saint and a church father. He was, even after his famous dream, a Ciceronian as well as a Christian, and a spicy, ill-tempered polemic as well as a humble recluse. He is fitly represented as a penitent in a reading or writing posture, with a lion and a skull. Everybody knows Domenichino's masterpiece, “The Communion of St. Jerome,” in the Vatican. In the subterranean cavern, close by the cradle of the infant Saviour, he spent thirty years till his death (A. D., 419). Here he completed his monumental work which, far more than his monkish piety and all his other books, entitles him to the lasting gratitude of the Church. His improved Latin version of the Bible, called the Vulgate, gave to Western Europe in the dark ages when Hebrew was unknown and Greek forgotten, nearly all its scanty knowledge of the Word of God, and is still the standard Bible of the Roman Church. It was of inestimable value

also to the Reformers and Protestant translators of the Bible into the vernacular tongues, whereby it has ceased to be merely a manual of the clergy and become what it was intended to be, a book for the common people, for all sorts and conditions of men. Our English Bible, if we are to judge from the innumerable cases where the definite article is disregarded, seems to have been made from the Latin Vulgate rather than from the original Greek and Hebrew. Even for the Biblical scholarship of the present day Jerome retains an important place among the indirect witnesses for the oldest text of the Greek Testament.

In the fertile plain below, about a mile east from the convent, on a green slope is a group of ruins and the grotto surrounded by olive-trees, where the angel of the Lord is said to have appeared to the shepherds with the glad tidings of great joy. Over those fields the heavenly host sung the first Christmas carol which was to resound through all ages in all lands of Christendom :

“Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men of his good pleasure.” *

The holy family spent about two months in Bethlehem ; for the presentation in the temple, which took place forty days after the birth, and the adoration of the Magi who probably arrived soon afterwards, must have occurred before the flight to Egypt, where they remained till the

* Or, “among men with whom he is well pleased.” This is the oldest and best-supported reading of Luke 2 : 14. There are two clauses, each containing three ideas, which correspond to each other : glory—peace ; to God—among men ; in the highest (in heaven)—on earth.

death of Herod, and then returned directly to Nazareth, their proper home (Matt 2 : 22, 23).

The evangelical missionary zeal, which nearly forty years ago founded the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem, has reached Bethlehem. A flourishing school, now under the direction of a pious German (Mr. Müller from Württemberg), has been established, and a fine building erected in 1864 by the *Jerusalems-Verein* of Berlin. I found there eighteen pupils, some of them bright and promising and well versed in Bible history. Two other schools for boys and girls are connected with this institution. They are the humble cradles of a better future for this ever-memorable spot.

Bethlehem is only six miles or an easy two hours' ride south of Jerusalem. The birthplace of our Lord almost within sight of Calvary! So birth and death, joy and grief are ever near each other. Bethlehem and Golgotha, the two most sacred spots on earth, yet more sacred the great facts and eternal truths which they symbolize! Happy he who has seen them with his eyes, far happier he who has them enshrined in his heart, in whom Christ is born, and who in Christ is crucified to the world and alive to God!

“ In Bethlehem the Lord of glory,
Who brought us life, first drew his breath;
On Golgotha, O bloody story!
By death he broke the power of death.
From western shores, all danger scorning,
I travelled through the lands of morning;
And greater spots I nowhere saw
Than Bethlehem and Golgotha.

“Where are the seven works of wonder
The ancient world beheld with pride?
They all have fallen, sinking under
The splendor of the Crucified!
I saw them, as I wandered spying,
Amid their ruins crumbled, lying;
None stand in quiet gloria
Like Bethlehem and Golgotha.

“Away, ye pyramids, whose bases
Lie shrouded in Egyptian gloom.
Eternal graves! no resting-places,
Where hope immortal gilds the tomb.
Ye sphinxes, vain was your endeavor
To solve life’s riddle, dark for ever,
Until the answer came with awe
From Bethlehem and Golgotha.

“O heart! what profits all thy kneeling,
Where once He laid His infant head,
To view with an enraptured feeling
His grave, long empty of its dead?
To have him born in thee with power,
To die to earth and sin each hour,
And live to Him, this only, ah!
Is Bethlehem and Golgotha.”*

* From the German of Friedrich Rückert.

CHAPTER XXIII.

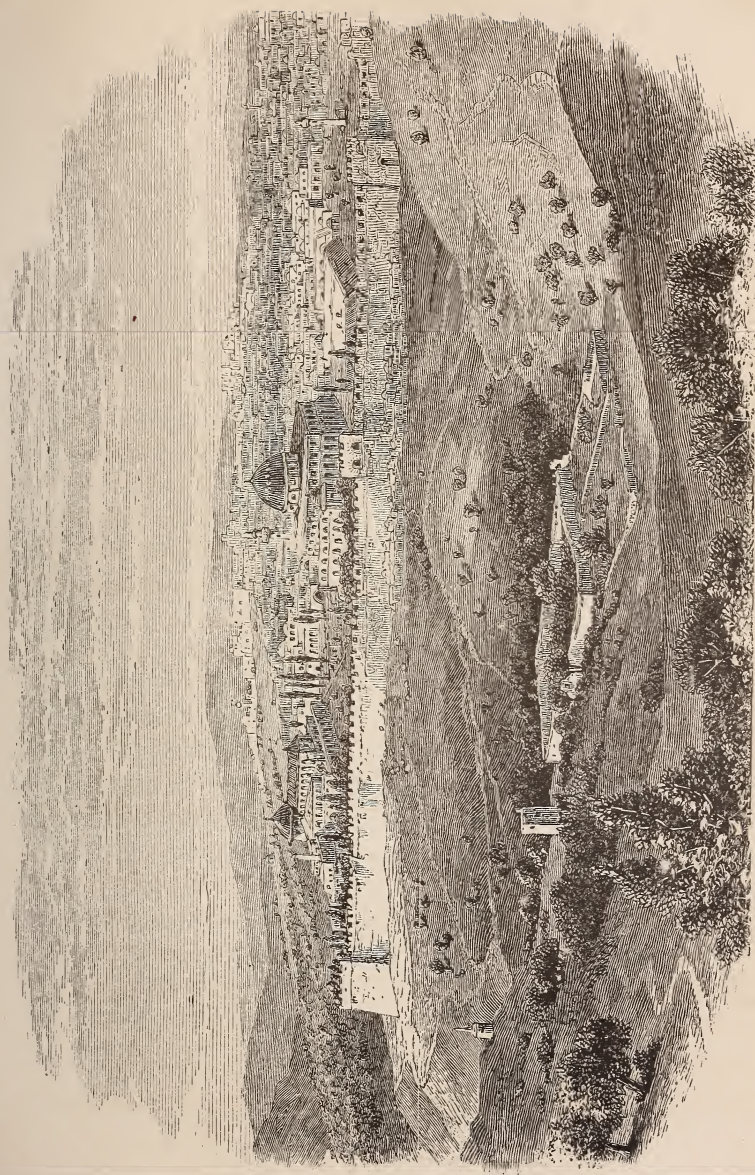
JERUSALEM.

Conflicting Impressions—Sadly disappointed, yet deeply impressed—Jerusalem seen from Mount Olivet—Jerusalem Past and Present—Population—Its Cosmopolitan Character in the Easter Season—The Study of Ruins—The Sights of the City.

“JERUSALEM, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate.”

This was my first, this my last impression of Jerusalem. I can understand the traveller who said, “I am sadly disappointed, yet deeply impressed;” sadly disappointed as to the present condition of Jerusalem, deeply impressed as to its sacred associations. My low expectations of the former and my high expectations of the latter have been fully met.

No city in the world excites such opposite feelings. It is the most holy and the most unholy, or I should say, the most desecrated spot in the world. “Beautiful for situation,” sings the Psalmist, “the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King. God is known in her palaces for a refuge. . . . Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.”



JERUSALEM: FROM MOUNT OLIVET.

(Psa. 48:2, 3 ; 50:2.) "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people!" laments the prophet in his funeral dirge, "how is she become a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!" (Lam. 1:1.) The Moslems, who look down with ignorant and stupid contempt upon Christians and their religion, rule and ruin the land and occupy the temple area, Mount Olivet, and Bethany; while other sacred places, as the church of the Holy Sepulchre, are guarded by their soldiers. The native churches unfortunately have but the empty shell of the religion they profess, and present a spectacle not unlike the Jewish synagogue at the time of Christ and the apostles. We approach Jerusalem with reverence and awe, and are overwhelmed with the memories of the stupendous events which here took place; but we are pained and shocked by the base superstition and empty formalism which meet us everywhere. Here the Saviour died and rose again for the salvation of mankind; and here his religion is turned into a shame and reproach. We are charmed with the beautiful situation and the hills that surround the city of David; but we are disgusted with the wretched interior, the ill-paved, narrow and dirty streets, the ignorance, poverty, and misery of the inhabitants. We seek a fair type of

"Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest;"

and we find instead

Jerusalem the stony, with dirt and rubbish cursed.

We desire to come nearer to Christ on the spots which

he touched, like the Crusaders of old; but we are told that he is not here, he is risen and ascended to heaven.

And yet after all, no city, not even Rome, can be more interesting to a Christian than Jerusalem; and the interest increases the more we study its ruins of a glorious past. The poetry is marred, but the reality is deepened. And while we are filled with mingled feelings of pity and indignation at the melancholy condition of the native population and religion under the corrupt despotism of the Turks, we are inspired with the hope of a new Jerusalem that is gradually springing up by the pious and benevolent efforts of foreigners, who labor for the revival of Bible Christianity in this Bible land. The time may come again when

“Glorious things of thee are spoken,
Zion, city of our God.”

Whoever approaches Jerusalem from the west, the north, or even from the south, will be disappointed. But viewed from Mount Olivet, on the east, Jerusalem presents a beautiful and imposing sight, and justifies all the praises lavished upon her by the singers of Israel. Fortunately God's mountains and God's nature cannot be destroyed by the vandalism of man. From Mount Olivet Jerusalem should be seen first and seen last. That sight can never be forgotten. It is the spot from which the Saviour looked upon the temple and wept over the unbelief and approaching doom of the ungrateful city. It is the spot from which he ascended to heaven to take possession of his throne as the King of the Church.

The history of Jerusalem is full of romantic and tragic

interest. It has seen about twenty sieges and destructions. There is a Jerusalem of the Jebusites, a Jerusalem of David and Solomon, a Jerusalem of Ezra and Nehemiah, a Jerusalem of the Ptolemies, a Jerusalem of the Maccabees, a Jerusalem of Herod, a Jerusalem of the Romans, a Jerusalem of the Christian emperors, a Jerusalem of the Saracens, a Jerusalem of the Crusaders, and a Jerusalem of the Turks. Throughout all these changes it has been claimed as a holy city by Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.

The Jerusalem of our Saviour and the apostles lies buried from twenty to eighty feet under the ruins and rubbish of centuries. The prophecy of Jeremiah (30:18) that "the city shall be builded upon her own heap," has been fulfilled many times. There is no street left which our Saviour trod, and no house which he saw. This makes it very difficult to identify any of the old sites. The internal relations of the city are "a mass of topographical controversy, unequalled for its extent, for its confusion, and for its bitterness." It is only quite recently that by the noble exertions of the Palestine Exploration Society, continued for three years (1867-1870), parts of the subterranean city have been brought to the knowledge of the world.* But these labors were interrupted and the shafts closed up, so that little or nothing

* The results of the Palestine Exploration Society are summed up in the following works: *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871. *Our Work in Palestine: Being an Account of the Different Expeditions sent out to the Holy Land by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, London, 1873. Capt. CHARLES WARREN, *Underground Jerusalem*, London, 1876. Dr. CARL ZIMMERMANN, *Karten und Pläne zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem*, Basel, 1876.

can be seen now. The superstitious inhabitants fear that their houses will fall down if the work should go on. At present the topography of Jerusalem is more confused, by new theories and speculations, than ever. The course of the ancient walls, on which depends the solution of the problem of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, is still undetermined. The only place within the city about which there is a general agreement among scholars is Mount Moriah, and even there the exact site of the ancient temple is under dispute. It is to be hoped that before long the excavations will be resumed on a larger scale and under the protection of a better government.

In the first century Jerusalem contained a very large population, although the figures of Josephus seem to be greatly exaggerated.* He states that the number of paschal lambs slain on a passover during the governorship of Cestius under Nero amounted to 256,500; which, upon an allowance of ten to a party, would imply over two millions and a half actually present in the city during that festival. He also states that at the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) eleven hundred thousand Jews perished, and ninety seven thousand were sold into slavery. This includes about 600,000 strangers who, from fanaticism and fear of the Romans, had crowded into the doomed city before the siege; but even if we deduct them we would still have more than half a million of inhabitants in the last days of ancient Jerusalem.

The present number of inhabitants is stated by Bädcker to be 24,000, among whom 13,000 are Moslems,

* *Bell. Jud.*, book VI., ch. 9, § 3.



POOL OF HEZEKIAH.

7,000 Christians, and 4,000 Jews. But Dr. Bernhard Neumann, a Jewish physician who resided fifteen years in Jerusalem, estimates the total number of inhabitants at 36,000, namely: 15,000 Mohammedans, 13,000 Jews, and 8,000 Christians (including 5,000 Franks).*

In the Easter season Jerusalem has quite a cosmopolitan aspect, and besides the vernacular Arabic you may hear about a dozen languages spoken. The number of pilgrims sometimes amounts to 10,000 and more. In other seasons Jerusalem must be an exceedingly dull place. There are no amusements of any kind. There is not even a newspaper published there except in the Hebrew language. The only periodicals you see in the hotels (the Mediterranean and the Damascus) come from abroad and are addressed to visitors. There is no regular mail but once a week or a fortnight, brought by the steamer from Jaffa.

Jerusalem is the place for the study of ruins. The whole city is a venerable ruin.

I spent nearly two weeks in Jerusalem, including Greek and Latin Easter—long enough for deep and lasting impressions, though not for careful investigation. I walked around the walls, which can be done in an hour. I visited the places of interest in and around the city, the Christian churches, monasteries, and hospices, the synagogues, the mosques, the citadel, the coenaculum, the tomb of David, the Via Dolorosa, the cemeteries, the Valley of the Kedron, the tombs of Absalom, St. James, and Zachariah, St. Mary's Well, the Pool of Siloam, Job's

* *Die heilige Stadt und deren Bewohner, Hamburg, 1877, p. 216.*

Well, Aceldama, the Valley of Hinnom, the Tombs of the Kings, the Tombs of the Judges, the quarries of the temple, etc. I attended the public services, the schools and hospitals. I went twice to Gethsemane, Mount Olivet, Mount Scopus, and Bethany. I made an excursion to Nebi Samwil, the highest mountain near Jerusalem, and enjoyed a magnificent view over the plain of Sharon as far as Ramleh and Jaffa, the battle-field of Joshua (Josh. 10:10), Gibeon, Mizpeh, and the distant mountains of Moab. I did not neglect to visit the archaeological and literary curiosity-shop of Mr. Shapira (a converted German Jew) and his disputed Moab antiquities, and the instructive models of Jerusalem, the Tabernacle, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, made by Conrad Schick, who kindly explained them to me. I became acquainted with Bishop Gobat and family, Rev. Messrs. Heffter, Friedländer, Klein and Reinke, Dr. Chaplin, Mr. Frutiger, and other Protestant residents who are engaged in Christian work, and enabled me to learn more in a few days than I could otherwise in as many weeks. I stayed in the Mediterranean Hotel near the Jaffa gate, kept by a converted Jew (Moses Hornstein), and from the top of it I looked every morning over the dome-shaped roofs of the houses to Mount Olivet and into the Pool of Hezekiah. I met around the table every day the German consul (Baron von Münchhausen), the late American consul (Dr. De Hass), and an interesting variety of strangers from England, Scotland, America, Germany, and Holland, Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Lutherans.



JAFFA.

From the multiplicity of objects which engaged my attention during this sojourn, I can only select a few for special description. The number of works on Jerusalem, ancient and modern, is so large that almost any new description is a work of supererogation. Let us first turn our attention to the present state of religion in the city as far as it came under my observation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RELIGION IN JERUSALEM.

The Easter Festivities—The Wooden Christ—Seven Sermons in Seven Languages—Feet-washing—The Greek Fire—The Greek Church—The Latin Church—Oriental Sects—The Protestant Churches and Institutions—The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric—Bishop Gobat—The Jewish Missionary Society—The German Colony—Chrischona and Kaiserswerth—Talitha Kumi—The Jews.

EASTER FESTIVITIES.

I WITNESSED in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the solemnities of the Latin and Greek Easter festivals, which in 1877 were divided by one week, the former falling on April 1, the latter on April 8. I saw none of the disgraceful fights between the rival communions which are said sometimes to dishonor the Christian name on the very spot of the Crucifixion, and to call for the intervention of the Mohammedan soldiers who are present in large force and look on with stolid indifference and sovereign contempt.

I cannot say that I have been favorably impressed. I would gladly recognize piety and devotion to Christ even under the crude and distorted forms of superstition. But I could not restrain the feeling that this is not the worship "in spirit and in truth" which our Sav-



VIA DOLOROSA.

iour demands. In point of taste and art the solemnities of the holy week are far inferior to those of St. Peter's in Rome, and not to be compared with the Passion play at Ober-Ammergau, which I witnessed in 1871. The singing is miserable, and the only good music I heard in Jerusalem was in the Russian church and in the Protestant service. The Orientals seem to have no idea of music. The crowd in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is almost crushing during the services. I saw a wooden Christ carried about and embalmed, on the Latin Good Friday, and heard seven sermons, good, bad, and indifferent, in as many languages. I saw the feet-washing on Greek Maundy Thursday, and the wild struggle of the people for the branches of the olive-tree, which are thrown among them at the close of the ceremony. I witnessed, on the Greek Easter eve, the scandalous fraud of the Holy Fire, and the tumultuous eagerness with which the superstitious people light their tapers at the sacred flame—said to be miraculously sent from heaven, but in fact kindled by the priests within the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. It seems to have been originally a symbolical representation of the light of the Resurrection or the pentecostal fire. On Good Friday all the lamps were extinguished; on Easter they were relighted. But in the course of time the innocent symbol was turned into a lying miracle to feed the superstition of the ignorant people and to fill the pockets of the priests. The Latins, who formerly shared in it, now denounce it without mercy. Even the Armenian patriarch is said to have preached against this pious humbug, and yet he coun-

tenances it in practice together with the orthodox Greeks.

Before I left for the East, Dean Stanley, with his characteristic broad church charity, told me that he found it very beautiful to see the various Christian sects uniting in the worship of Christ under the same roof. But Protestants are excluded, and the old sects hate each other more than they do the Protestants. The jealousy and rivalry between the Greeks and Latins, though it may not break out openly, is as great as ever, and is one of the saddest aspects of Eastern Christianity.

THE OLD CHURCHES.

The Greek Church is the strongest in Jerusalem as to number, wealth, and influence, and is backed by the power of Russia. Its native members are Arabs, and speak Arabic; its clergy are mostly foreigners from the Greek islands, and speak modern Greek. It owns several monasteries. The "Great Greek Monastery," or Patriarcheion, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is the residence of the patriarch, and has a valuable library. The "Monastery of St. John the Baptist" can accommodate five hundred pilgrims at Easter. A rich Greek priest built a beautiful summerhouse on the road to Jaffa, with a garden abounding in trees and flowers.

The Russians erected, from 1860 to 1864, several imposing and conspicuous buildings on an eminence west of the Jaffa gate. They consist of a consular residence, two hospices, one for men, one for women, and a beautiful church. The orthodox Church of Russia is un-

doubtedly the most vital and hopeful part of the Oriental Church, but is regarded with some jealousy by the Greeks.

The Latin communion, though smaller, is more active, and derives its chief support from France and Italy. It is governed by a rival patriarch. It numbers several convents (called the *Terra Santa* convents), schools, and charitable institutions. The Casa Nuova of the Franciscans is a commodious and exceptionally clean hospice near the Jaffa Gate, and affords accommodation to travellers for a very reasonable sum (five francs a day, while the hotels charge twelve francs or more). Protestants are freely admitted as well as Catholics, and find hospitable treatment.

Both the Greek and Latin churches have been lately stirred up to new zeal by the educational labors of the Protestants.

The Oriental Schismatics are likewise represented in Jerusalem. The Armenians have a fine church, dedicated to St. James, a convent, and a hospice, near Mount Zion, and look intelligent and prosperous. Their spiritual ruler is called Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Copts and Abyssinians are poor and insignificant.

THE PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS.

The Protestants form the smallest of the Christian communities, but are growing in influence, and seem to be respected by the Mohammedans, who abhor the other Christians as idolaters.

The Church of England and the Evangelical Church

of Prussia have been at work here for the last thirty or forty years. They are aided by the Crischona Institute of Basle, and the Deaconesses' Institute at Kaiserswerth. There are now three Protestant congregations in Jerusalem, an English, a German, and a native Arab, all in nominal connection with the bishopric of St. James ; but the English congregation, which consists mostly of Jewish proselytes, is under the direction of the London Jewish Missionary Society, the Arab congregation under the care of the English Church Missionary Society, and the German congregation under the care of the Prussian Oberkirchenrath.

The Anglo-German, or rather the Prusso-Anglican bishopric of St. James, was projected in 1841 by the pious zeal of King Frederick William IV. (the brother of the Emperor of Germany) and his friend Chevalier Bunsen, both equally distinguished for sincere piety, brilliant genius, literary and artistic culture, love of mediæval romance, and sanguine hope of Christian union on the basis of the primitive Church. The king gave one half of the episcopal endowment fund (£15,000), England the other half. The novel scheme encouraged sanguine hopes, and provoked ridicule and opposition. Some dreamed the sweet dream of an approaching reunion of all Christendom, with Jerusalem as its centre ; while two theological professors at Berne (Schneckenburger and Hundeshagen) hurled at the founders an anonymous pamphlet, with the characteristic motto, "Will a wise man fill his belly with East wind?" German Christians care little for episcopacy and the Anglican liturgy, but help to sup-

port the benevolent institutions. The English Church is divided on the Jerusalem mission. The Low church or evangelical party favors it, but the High church party is opposed to an alliance with a non-episcopal sect, although the king of Prussia unwisely conceded the reordination of German ministers, and the right of a veto of the archbishop of Canterbury with respect to the bishop alternately to be nominated by the crown of Prussia. The Tractarians and Ritualists even abhor the Jerusalem episcopate as an impudent interference with the jurisdiction of the Greek sister Church.

Nevertheless the bishopric has done good, and will live. The first bishop, Dr. Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew, was appointed by England, and labored from 1841 to 1845. The second bishop, Dr. Samuel Gobat, a Swiss by birth, and formerly a missionary in Abyssinia, trained in the mission institute at Basle, a good Arabic scholar, was appointed by Prussia, and consecrated in 1846. He is now eighty years old, and feeble, but has been very active in his day, and established several useful schools in Jerusalem and other places. He has recently committed them to the care of the English Church Missionary Society, with the exception of the Orphan House on Mount Zion. I heard him preach, on Easter morning, an evangelical sermon (with which a ritualist clergyman of England was greatly displeased) in the English church on Mount Zion, a few steps from his residence. In the afternoon I preached a German resurrection sermon in the same church, and during the week I made an English address at a prayer-meeting in the

adjoining chapel. The late Bishop Marvin, of the Southern Methodist church, preached an eloquent sermon in the chapel, at which Gobat was present. The services were well attended, but mostly by foreigners. Worship is also conducted in the Hebrew language for Jewish proselytes, after the order of the Book of Common Prayer. The church is a substantial and beautiful edifice, with a good parsonage for the rector, a chapel, a valuable library, and schoolhouses for boys and girls. It was erected in 1847, not from the Episcopal fund, but by the "London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews," which controls it still, so that the bishop has little to say.

This Society, which dates from 1808, is the pioneer of Protestantism in Jerusalem. It began operations among the Jews in Palestine in 1823, by sending a medical missionary, Dr. Dalton (who died in 1826), and then the Rev. J. Nicolayson (who continued till 1839) to Jerusalem, and after several years of apparent failure it converted a number of persons, two-thirds of them Jews. The Society founded also a hospital for Jews with fifty beds, a house of industry, in which the converts learn a trade, and schools for children of Jewish proselytes.

The new Episcopal church for the Arabs was erected in 1864 by the English Church Missionary Society. It is a very fine building, with a commodious parsonage, outside of the Jaffa gate, near the Russian property. It is at present in charge of Rev. Mr. Klein, who first found the famous Moabite stone.

The German congregation formerly worshipped in the church on Mount Zion, but has now a new church in the building of the Knights of St. John, with a pastor who is appointed by the highest council (the Oberkirchenrath) of the Evangelical United Church of Prussia. A Prussian hospice is connected with it, and affords a pleasant home to Protestant travellers at a reasonable price. A society in Berlin, called the "Jerusalems-Verein," founded in 1852, collects funds for the support of the German church and schools in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The resident Germans in Jerusalem are a very worthy and useful colony. Many of them were sent here as lay missionaries, teachers, and catechists, from the *Christiana*, near Basle, an institution founded by a pious and liberal layman, Mr. Spittler. Since 1868 a new German sect, called the Friends of the Temple, under the lead of Dr. Hoffmann of Würtemberg, has established flourishing colonies at Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem.

The German Deaconesses also are doing an excellent work in Jerusalem. They manage a hospital and a Protestant female school called *Talitha Kumi*, two noble Christian institutions. The teachers and nurses are refined and devoted ladies, trained at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, the mother-house of the Deaconesses, or Protestant Sisters of Charity. No traveller interested in Christian education and philanthropy should neglect to visit *Talitha Kumi*. It is not far from the Jaffa Gate on a hill, a shining light for the neglected female children of Jerusalem. It is delightful to see the cleanliness and

politeness of the girls brought up in this school, as contrasted with the filth and ignorance from which they have been raised.

We must also favorably mention the *Lepers' Home*. It was established by a pious German baroness Von Keffenbrinck, in 1867, and has been sustained so far almost exclusively by funds collected in Germany. It is under the charge of a worthy and self-denying couple, Mr. and Mrs. Tappe, formerly Moravian missionaries in Labrador. There are at present eighteen inmates, all Mohammedans. When I saw the victims of this fearful and incurable disease, which distorts the whole human frame, and delivers all its members, one by one, to fatal putrefaction, I thanked God for such an institution, which is an honor to the Christian name. Outside of the Jaffa Gate some of these unfortunate creatures may be seen showing their disfigured and half-decayed limbs, and piteously begging alms, but there is no Saviour now on earth to heal them. Thank God, there are Christians who can at least alleviate their sufferings.

The Protestants enjoy full toleration for these benevolent operations. The Turkish government cares for nothing but tribute from the people, and is afraid of offending Christian governments.

I cannot conclude without directing attention to the fact that America, which has done so much for the exploration of Palestine through Dr. Robinson and others, has done little for reviving primitive Christianity in this city, from which we received the greatest blessings. While the American Presbyterians have flourishing mis-

sions in Syria, and the Congregationalists in Turkey, there is not a single American mission church or mission school in all Palestine. It would indeed be wrong for any denomination to interfere with the good work of the Anglican Church, the Evangelical Church of Prussia, the Chrischona of Basle and the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth. But the usefulness of their churches and schools already established might be largely increased by the aid and coöperation of American contributions and laborers.

THE JEWS.

A word about the Jews. They have four holy cities in Palestine: Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. They still look forward to the restoration of their race and country. Their number in Jerusalem is growing rapidly and amounts fully to one third of the whole population. They are divided into three sects—the *Sephardim*, of Spanish and Portuguese origin, the *Askenazim*, from Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, and a small number of *Karaites*, who adhere strictly to the letter of the written law and discard the rabbinical traditions. There are no reform Jews or rationalists in Jerusalem. They are all orthodox, but mostly poor and dependent on the charity of their brethren in Europe. Many come to be buried on holy ground, and outside of the Eastern wall on the slopes of the valley of the Kedron, which are covered with tombstones. The Jewish quarter is squalid and forbidding. It ought to be burned down and built anew. The Polish Jews look dirty and shabby, and wear curls, which give them an effeminate appearance. The

Hebrew language is used in Jerusalem as a conversational language, and there only. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whose ancestors emigrated after their expulsion from Spain under Isabella I. (1497), still speak a Spanish patois. The German, Austrian, Polish, and Russian Jews speak a corrupt German. Baron Rothschild and Sir Moses Montefiore have done much for them by building hospitals and lodginghouses. They ought to buy Palestine and administer it on principles of civil and religious liberty.

Every traveller ought to visit the "Wailing Place of the Jews" at the cyclopean foundation wall of the temple, just outside the enclosure of the mosque El Aska and near "Robinson's Arch." There the Jews assemble every Friday afternoon and on festivals to bewail the downfall of the holy city. I saw on Good Friday a large number, old and young, male and female, venerable rabbis with patriarchal beards and young men kissing the stone wall and watering it with their tears. They repeat from their well-worn Hebrew Bibles and Prayer-books, the Lamentations of Jeremiah and suitable Psalms (the 76th and 79th). "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. . . . We are become a reproach to our neighbors, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us." Dr. Tobler gives the following specimen of responsive laments from the litanies of the Karaites :*

* *Topographie von Jerusalem*, Vol. I., page 629. Similar litanies see in Dr. Potter's "*The Gates of the East*," (New York, 1876), page 245 seq.

For the palace that lies desolate,

R. *We sit in solitude and mourn.*

For the walls that are overthrown,

R. *We sit in solitude and mourn.*

For our majesty that is departed,

R. *We sit in solitude and mourn.*

For the priests who have stumbled,

R. *We sit in solitude and mourn.*

For our kings who have despised Him,

R. *We sit in solitude and mourn.*

Another prayer :

We pray thee, have mercy upon Zion,

R. *Gather the children of Jerusalem.*

Make haste, make haste, Redeemer of Zion,

R. *Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.*

May beauty and majesty surround Zion,

R. *Incline mercifully toward Jerusalem.*

May the kingly rule over Zion soon appear,

R. *Comfort those that mourn over Jerusalem.*

May peace and delight enter Zion,

R. *And may the branch sprout in Jerusalem.*

The keynote of all these laments and prayers was struck by Jeremiah, the most pathetic and tender-hearted of prophets, in the Lamentations—that funeral dirge of Jerusalem and the theocracy. This elegy, written with sighs and tears, has done its work most effectually in

Tobler (page 626) gives an interesting account of the celebration of the destruction of Jerusalem, in the synagogue, on the 9th of the month of Ab.

great public calamities, and is doing it every year on the ninth of the month of Ab (July), when it is read with loud weeping in all the synagogues of the Jews, and especially at Jerusalem. It keeps alive the memory of their deepest humiliation and guilt, and the hope of final deliverance. The scene at the Wailing Place was to me touching and pregnant with meaning. God has no doubt reserved this remarkable people, which, like the burning bush, is never consumed, for some great purpose before the final coming of our Lord.

CHAPTER XXV.

*MOUNT MORIAH, AND THE DOME OF THE
ROCK.*

The Prophecy of Christ—The Noble Sanctuary—The Mosque of Omar—The Wonderful Rock—The Dream of Mohammed—The Final Judgment.

“Verily, I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.”

THIS prophecy of our Lord (Matt. 24 : 1, 2) has been literally and fearfully verified. The Jewish temple has disappeared, and the massive and venerable substructions still remaining only tell the sad tale of its former site and glory. The Roman conquerors would naturally throw down the stones from the upper parts, and these stones accumulating would protect the lower parts from utter demolition.

Mount Moriah, or, as the Moslems call it, “the Haram esh-Sherîf,” that is, “the Noble Sanctuary,” is the pride of Jerusalem ancient and modern, and (as Bâdeker says) “one of the most profoundly interesting spots in the world.” It is to Jerusalem what the Acropolis is to Athens. Jews and Mohammedans regard it with equal reverence. The Jews deplore its loss and desecration, and lament and weep every Friday outside of the sacred enclosure; the Moslems glory in its possession, and till

after the Crimean war strictly excluded all foreigners from its precincts. For three hundred years, from Constantine to the conquest of Omar (637), and during the reign of the Crusaders (1099 till 1187), it was occupied by the Christians.

The Haram area is an artificial oblong plateau, paved with marble, ornamented with fountains, cypresses and other trees, and enclosed by supporting walls, which are built up from the declivities of the hill on three sides (the east, the south, and the west), and give it the appearance of a gigantic fortress. The masonry of the walls is of different periods, Solomonic, Herodian, Saracenic, and modern. Recent excavations have brought to light masons' marks on the foundation stones in Phœnician letters, which illustrate the fact that Hiram, king of Tyre, furnished Solomon with cunning workmen for the Temple (1 Kings 5; 2 Chron. 2). The eastern wall, toward the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is 1,530 feet long, and between the Golden Gate and the southeast angle there are 1,018 feet. The "Golden Gate" is a double portal with semicircular arches profusely ornamented. It is not the "Beautiful Gate,"* for this was probably in the *inner* fore-court of the temple. It may correspond to the "closed gate" of Ezek. 44: 1-3, but in its present shape it seems to be of Byzantine origin. The gate is closed, but the Mohammedans believe that the Christians will finally pass through it. Both Jews and Mohammedans localize here the scene of the last judgment, and it may be that our Lord, standing on the

* Acts 3: 2, θύρα ὥραία, which was mistranslated into the Latin *aurea*.



MOSQUE OF OMAR

slope of Mount Olivet opposite this gate, described the gathering of all nations before his judgment-seat. The immense subterranean vaults in the southeast corner, of uncertain workmanship, are called "the Stables of Solomon," and in the masonry of the piers are still seen the rings by which the Crusading kings and the knight templars fastened their horses. There may possibly be some foundation for the name, as Solomon's palace is supposed to have stood on the south side of the temple area.

The excavations of Captains Wilson and Warren have shown that Moriah is honeycombed by a vast system of caverns, wells, and reservoirs, so that Jerusalem, even during the longest siege, was in no want of water. We are reminded of the prophetic visions of the pure waters of life which shall flow from the temple of God to water the earth (Ezek. 47:1-12; Zech. 13:1; 14:8; Rev. 22:1), and of the Psalmist's perennial river, the streams whereof make glad the City of God (Psa. 46:4).

On this beautiful platform once stood the Temple of Solomon in all its glory; then the humbler Temple of Zerubbabel; and last the Temple of Herod, which was in progress of construction at the time of Christ, and was destroyed by the Roman army A. D. 70. An attempt to rebuild the Jewish temple under Julian the Apostate, who hoped thereby to refute the prediction of Christ, proved a disastrous failure.

In its place rises now "the Mosque of Omar," or the "Dome of the Rock" (Kubbet es Sakhrâ), as gracefully as St. Sophia in Constantinople or St. Peter's in Rome. It is the most prominent, as well as the most beautiful

building in the whole city. It stands out conspicuously in every picture of Jerusalem. It can be seen best from the Kedron Valley and Mount Olivet. It is the second mosque of Islam, inferior only to that of Mecca, as Jerusalem is its second sacred city, and called "The Holy" (El Kuds). It stands on an irregular base of ten feet in height, and is approached by three flights of steps which terminate in elegant arcades called Scales (Mawazin), because, according to the tradition, the scales of judgment are to be suspended here. The mosque is an octagonal building, each side measuring 67 feet, and is surmounted by a lofty dome with a gilt crescent. The whole structure, including the platform, is 170 feet high. The interior has two cloisters separated by an octagonal course of piers and columns. The dome is supported by a circle of four great piers, and twelve Corinthian columns. Inscriptions from the Koran ornament the walls. The building is of uncertain origin; some trace it to Omar, some to Justinian; James Ferguson, the famous historian of architecture, identifies it with the church of Constantine, and the rock beneath with the tomb of Christ; he also locates Mount Zion on Mount Moriah instead of the western hill. But in this novel and startling view he has had few, if any, followers. During the Crusades the building was used as a Christian cathedral.

The most interesting object in the Mosque of Omar is the naked, grayish limestone Rock (Sakhrâ) over which it is built and from which it has its name. It is the central peak of the rugged hill. It stands right beneath the dome, is 57 feet long, 43 feet wide, and rises from one to

five or six feet above the mosaic marble pavement. It is enclosed by an iron railing with arrow-headed points and metallic candlesticks. It is nowhere mentioned in the Bible, but first in the Talmud. It marks, according to Jewish tradition, the centre of the earth. Here Melchizedek offered sacrifice. Here Abraham was ready to slay his son Isaac. Here was the altar of burnt-offering, or, according to others, the place of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies. Here David and Solomon prayed. On this Rock was inscribed the unspeakable name of God (the "Shemhamphorash"), which Jesus was able to read and from which he derived his power of performing miracles.

The Mohammedans have adopted these Jewish fables and improved on them. They make as much of the Rock on Mount Moriah as of the Black Stone in Mecca. They believe that it descended from heaven and is suspended in the air; and that it attempted to follow the prophet on his ascension to Paradise, but was kept back from its native quarry by the angel Gabriel, who left his large hand-prints as a memorial of the miracle! Mohammed himself, in the twelfth year of his mission, spread the absurd story that he made a night-journey from Mecca to Jerusalem.* Tradition adds that from Jerusalem he ascended on his miraculous steed El-Borak, accompanied by Gabriel, through the seven heavens to the throne of God, and was brought back again to Mecca the

* Koran, Sura 17 (Arabic text), entitled the "Night Journey:" "Glory be to Him who carried his servant by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the temple that is more remote, whose precinct we have blessed, that we might show him of our signs."

same night. It was probably a mere dream of Mohammed, but Abu Bekr vouched for its reality, and it increased the prophet's credit as having conferred with God himself, like Moses, and contributed much to his success. Absurd and incredible as many of the Christian legends are, the Talmudic and Mohammedan legends are far more absurd and incredible. Mohammed declared that one prayer at the Sakhrâ is better than a thousand elsewhere. Beneath it is "the Well of Souls" (Bir el-Arwâh) and the gate to Hades. At the last day the Black Stone of Mecca will come to the gray Rock of Jerusalem, and then the blast of the trumpet will sound from here to summon all mankind in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Mohammed, assisted by Jesus, will take his seat on a round projecting porphyry column, which is shown in the east wall of the Haram, to execute judgment. God will then erect his throne on the Rock.

Before these Mohammedan dreams are fulfilled the crescent will once more be replaced by the cross, and the Mosque of Omar and the neighboring Mosque el-Aksa will be turned into Christian churches.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CALVARY AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Calvary—The Evangelists on the Site of the Crucifixion—The Epistles and the Ante-Nicene Writers—The Discovery of the Traditional Site by Constantine or Helena—The Church of the Holy Sepulchre—A Museum of sacred Curiosities—Uncertainty of the Tradition—Different Views—The probable Site—The true Calvary Omnipresent in the Church.

“And bearing the cross for himself, he went out into the place called the Place of a Skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha: where they crucified him, and two others with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.” John 19: 17, 18.

CALVARY, or Golgotha, is the most sacred spot in Jerusalem and in the world. Who would not like to touch the place of the crucifixion, the burial, and the resurrection of the Son of God! But is it really under the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or anywhere else in Jerusalem? or has it been buried and hidden from profanation and idolatry?

From the accounts of the Evangelists we learn the following particulars, which must control this controversy: The place of the crucifixion was, 1, outside of the limits of the city (John 19:17; Matt. 28:11; Mark 15:20, 21; Luke 23:26; comp. Heb. 13:12);* 2, near

* Even now, as in the days of the Romans, all executions take place outside of the gate, though not in any particular locality, Captain War-

the city (John 19:20); 3, near a thoroughfare and exposed to the gaze of the multitude (Matt. 27:39; Mark 15:29; John 19:20); 4, on a conical or globular elevation (hence the name, "Place of a Skull," or Calvary, Matt. 27:33; Mark 15:22; John 19:17; Luke 23:33), though not on a mountain or hill (as the monastic designation "*Mount Calvary*" would imply); 5, near a garden and a sepulchre hewn in a rock, where Christ was buried (Matt. 27:60; John 19:38-42). The close proximity, therefore, of Golgotha and the Sepulchre in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is no objection to its authenticity.

In the Epistles of the New Testament there is no allusion to the locality of the crucifixion, except the incidental notice that it took place "outside of the gate" (Heb. 13:12). The apostles evidently fixed their eyes of faith and love upon the great facts themselves, and on the ever-living Christ in heaven.

It is natural to assume that the early Christians resorted to those places for meditation and prayer, but there is no trace of any church or altar there during the first three centuries. Jerusalem was totally destroyed by Titus A. D. 70; the Christians had fled before to Pella; the Jews were killed or sold into slavery; and heathen idolatry for some time took the place of Jewish fanaticism. Hadrian, after the insurrection of Bar-cochba (137), razed again every trace of Judaism, and built on the ruins a heathen city under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. It is also reported by Eusebius and Jerome, who,

ren (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 353) witnessed a most barbarous execution of a Bedawin murderer near the Jaffa Gate.

however, lived two hundred years later, and who do not quite agree, that Hadrian erected a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the vacant spot of the temple, and his own statue on the place of the Holy of Holies, and a statue of Venus on the site of Calvary (as in cruel mockery of the Divine Love that died for the sins of mankind). This report does not necessarily mean that the spot of the crucifixion was known to Hadrian, but simply that it was believed to be such by the writers after its discovery; otherwise Eusebius would contradict himself.*

Eusebius traces the discovery of the site of the crucifixion, which, he says, "had for so long a time been hidden beneath the earth," to Constantine, in consequence of "a miracle beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate or even to comprehend." After removing the profane obstructions of the heathen, the emperor erected on the sacred spot a church as a memorial of the victory of Christianity. It was solemnly dedicated A. D. 335, in the presence of a great council of bishops, among whom was Eusebius himself.† The historian here makes no mention whatever of the discovery of the cross, nor of the agency of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, although he ascribes to her the erection of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet. But Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, and other writers of the fifth century, unanimously ascribe the discovery, or, as it is

* Prof. Krafft (*Topographie Jerusalems*, p. 236) solves the contradiction by a distinction between the general locality and the particular spot of the sepulchre; the former was known, the latter discovered by a miracle. But Eusebius makes no such distinction. † *Vita Const.*, III., 25-40.

characteristically called, the "invention" of the cross and the sepulchre to this pious lady, who, at the age of nearly eighty years (A. D. 326), visited Palestine. After a difficult search, she found three crosses, and, separated from them, the tablet bearing the inscription of Pilate. The true cross of Christ was ascertained, at the suggestion of Bishop Macarius, by a miracle of healing which its touch produced on a noble lady of Jerusalem lying sick of an incurable disease; whereupon Helena caused a splendid church to be erected over the spot where the crosses were found.

The conflicting accounts may perhaps be adjusted by the assumption that Constantine carried out the wishes of his mother. But at all events the traditional site of Calvary rests on a double miracle, which is in keeping with the credulity of that age, but can hardly stand the test of sober criticism. Eusebius and his continuators are by no means either very accurate or very scrupulous or impartial historians.

Since that time the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was no doubt first built either by Helena or her son, but has undergone several destructions and reconstructions, has been generally regarded as the place of Christ's crucifixion and burial. And whether its claims be well founded or not, we cannot approach it without profound interest and a certain religious awe. It is for Catholic Christians what the temple on Mount Moriah was for the Jews, and what the Dome of the Rock is for the Mohammedans. Genuine or not, it has been for many centuries a centre of devotion, the very holy of

holies of the largest portion of Christendom. But if the old temple under the guardianship of the Jewish hierarchy was turned from a house of God into a "house of merchandise" (John 2 : 16) and a "den of thieves" (Matt. 21 : 13), we need not be surprised if this sanctuary also has been grossly perverted. Before we enter the church we meet a multitude of profane traffickers selling all sorts of eatables and religious wares. Armed Turkish guards stand at the gate and in the vestibule, at the request of the Latin Christians, to protect them against the violence of their Greek fellow-Christians. The rival churches and sects which jointly own the property (the orthodox Greeks own the largest and richest chapel, the Copts the smallest and poorest) jealously guard their spots, and vie with each other in outward zeal for their common Lord, while they would gladly expel their brethren. We would not forget the divisions in the Protestant camp, nor the unavoidable dangers of family quarrels under the same roof, but the impression nevertheless is very humiliating, and dampens the zeal of devotion.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a collection of chapels and altars of different ages, and a unique museum of religious curiosities from Adam to Christ. It is lit up with innumerable lamps, and pervaded with the perfume of incense. In the centre of the rotunda, beneath the dome, is the small marble Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre (at Easter lit with some forty gold and silver lamps), where pilgrims from every land in a ceaseless stream are going in and out, offering candles and kneeling before and kissing the empty tomb of

Christ. In front of it is the Angel's Chapel (the vestibule to the Sepulchre), with the piece of marble which the angel removed from the sepulchre, and on which he sat. A few steps from it is the Stone of Anointment, a broad marble slab honored with innumerable kisses. We are also shown the place from which the women witnessed the anointing of the Saviour. Twenty steps higher is the Chapel of Golgotha or Mount Calvary. There they show us three holes, only five feet apart from each other, in which the crosses of Christ and the two robbers were inserted, and the cleft in the rock made by the earthquake (Matt. 27:51). Close by is the Chapel of the Agony of Mary bearing her Son on her knees. The Chapel of the Finding of the Cross by St. Helena, three hundred years after the event, lies deeper ; so also the Chapel of the Raising of the Cross. Almost every incident in the history of the passion and resurrection is commemorated by chapels, altars, or crosses, up stairs and down stairs, in nooks and corners, and everywhere. The very spots are pointed out where Christ was bound ; where he was scourged ; where his friends stood afar off during the crucifixion ; where his garments were parted ; where he appeared to his mother after the resurrection, and to Mary Magdalene as the gardener. Not only so, but in the same church are contained the subterranean rock-tombs of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, the tombs of Adam (Eve is ignored), Melchisedek, John the Baptist, and "the centre of the world !"*

* Jerusalem is actually, though not geographically, the centre of Palestine. Rabbinical writers compare the world to an eye, the ocean to the

It is an amazing tax on our credulity that we should believe in the identity of these sites. The whole thing is overdone and thus almost undone. To be sure, millions of Catholics, Greek and Roman, have no more doubt about the genuineness of these localities than they have about the crucifixion and resurrection itself, and deem it profane to call in question a tradition so old, venerable, and general. But a Protestant who puts his Bible above all the traditions of men, and the worship of God in spirit and in truth above all forms and ceremonies, has certainly a right to demand good reasons for all this. The Church has never claimed geographical and topographical infallibility, and it is no heresy to dissent from any of the monkish traditions concerning the holy places in Palestine. The one great, we may say the only argument in favor of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the true Calvary or Golgotha, is the unbroken tradition which certainly runs back to the age of Constantine without a dissenting voice. This argument has been eloquently stated by Chateaubriand and repeated over and over by Catholic and Protestant writers. It seems impossible that the Christians of Jerusalem should ever have forgotten or lost sight of the place where their blessed Lord and Saviour died for our sins and rose for our justification. But this assumption is weakened by the absence of any definite information about the locality in the New Testament and the writers before Constantine, by the utter

white of the eye, Palestine to the pupil, the temple to the image in the pupil of the eye. This idea passed into the Church. Jerome calls Jerusalem "the navel of the earth" (*umbilicus terræ*).

demolition and desecration of the city under Titus and again under Hadrian, and by the fact that the discovery of the site of Calvary is ascribed by all ecclesiastical writers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age to a stupendous *miracle*, which was entirely unnecessary if the site was known before.

But admitting the miracle of the discovery, there is an almost insurmountable topographical objection against the traditional site. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre lies *within* the present wall of the city; while the crucifixion, according to infallible authority, took place *outside* of the old city. The old city was much larger and more densely inhabited than the present, and consequently more likely to include the site of that church than to exclude it. This is the antecedent probability. The champions of the tradition therefore are bound to prove that the location of the city has greatly changed, and that the second wall of Josephus (which ran circuitously from the Gate Gennath, *i. e.*, the Garden Gate, near the tower of Hippicus to the fortress Antonia on the north of the Temple-area) *excluded* the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.* This has not been proved. It is possible, but very improbable. Diligent search for wall foundations has failed

* All that Josephus says of the second wall is this (*Bell. Jud. V. 4, 2*): "The second wall had its beginning from the gate called *Gennath*, which belonged to the first wall; and, encircling only the northern quarter of the city, it extended as far as the tower Antonia." All three walls (as described by Josephus in the same chapter of the fifth book) began at the tower of Hippicus, near the present Jaffa Gate. The second wall probably ran northward from the citadel to the Latin Convent and to the Damascus Gate, where traces of an ancient wall were found. See Robinson's *Later Researches* (1856), page 219.

so far.* And even if the sepulchre could be shown to have been outside of the second wall of the ancient city, it is certainly far within the third wall which was built by Herod Agrippa only ten or eleven years after the crucifixion, to enclose a large suburb (twice as large as the old city) that had gradually extended beyond the second wall. The words "without the gate" (Heb. 13:12) and "nigh to the city" (John 19:20), could scarcely mean "within the suburbs."

The first who ventured to question the traditional site was a German bookseller, Jonas Korte, who visited Jerusalem in 1738. A hundred years later Dr. Robinson of New York subjected the matter to a calm critical examination and came reluctantly to the conclusion, mostly from topographical considerations, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre cannot be genuine.† His view was adopted by Dr. Titus Tobler (an indefatigable Swiss investigator who was four times in Palestine, in 1835, 1845, 1857, and 1865), Herm. Hupfeld (1861), Fr. Arnold (1864), John Wilson, Barclay, Bonar, Fergusson, Porter, Meyer, Ewald and other Protestant scholars. On the other hand, the old tradition has found learned and able advocates not only among Roman Catholics as De Vogué, De Saulcy and Sepp, but also among Protestants, espe-

* The ruins near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which have been supposed by G. Williams and others to be fragments of the second wall, have proved to be portions of a church; and the old arch called the Gate Gennath is a comparatively recent building. See *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pages 9 and 208.

† See his argument in "Biblical Researches," Vol. I. 407-418; III. 254-263 (Boston ed. of 1856), and in "Bibliotheca Sacra" for August and November, 1847.

cially Rev. George Williams (for many years chaplain of the Anglican Bishop Alexander in Jerusalem),* Prof. William Krafft, of Bonn (1845), Ritter (1852), the Prussian Consuls in Jerusalem, Drs. Shultz (1845) and Rosen (1863), by Von Schubert, Raumer, Furrer, F. A. Strauss, Olin, Lewin, and others. The argument has been pretty well exhausted on both sides by Robinson and Williams. The excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund have thrown no new light on the subject, and unless some new excavation should determine the course of the second wall of the ancient city, opinions will continue to be divided on the question of the Holy Sepulchre. The opponents of the traditional site have so far the best of the topographical argument, but labor under the disadvantage of being unable to point definitely to another locality; for Fergusson's view,† which locates Calvary on Mount Moriah, is untenable, because Moriah must have been within the city limits.

Were I to look for the site of the true Calvary in the present Jerusalem, untrammelled by ecclesiastical tradition and controversy, I would find it on a skull-shaped, rocky, isolated elevation, a few minutes' walk north of the Damascus Gate, not far from the Grotto of Jeremiah, where the prophet, according to tradition, is said to have written his Lamentations. This elevation is about half a mile from the site of the fortress Antonia (Pilate's judgment-hall), and the same distance from Mount Zion (Her-

* See his "The Holy City," London, second edition, 1849, 2 vols. He is the chief opponent of Robinson, and apologizes in the preface to the second edition, for his unnecessary severity.

† See his article *Jerusalem* in Smith's "Bible Dictionary."

od's palace). It is on the highway to Damascus; it is encircled by rock caverns and tombs. It thus answers all the requirements of the gospel narrative better than any other locality I have seen around the city. It is believed to be the site of the true Calvary by Bishop Gobat (as I was informed), and by Mr. Conrad Schick (who kindly conducted me over a large part of the city). Mr. Schick (from Würtemberg), an architect and superintendent of an industrial missionary school, is from long residence thoroughly posted in Jerusalem topography, and several times honorably mentioned in the reports of the English Exploration Fund, and in Bädcker's Handbook. He has constructed the best models of Jerusalem, of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Tabernacle. He holds his view of the site of Calvary with becoming modesty. For in the absence of all tradition, and in view of the many changes which the surface of the city has undergone, it would be presumptuous to venture on categorical assertions.*

Perhaps it is all the better that we should not know the precise spot. God buried Moses out of the sight of men and out of the reach of idolatry. The earthly Calvary may be hidden from our view, that, instead of cleaving to earth, we may look to heaven where Christ is enthroned in glory. There is a better Calvary, which, like the manger of the Nativity and the spot of the Ascension, has a spiritual omnipresence in Christendom, and is imbedded

* A similar view was, independently, defended by the late Fisher Howe of Brooklyn, who, however, locates Calvary a little farther east on the Grotto of Jeremiah. See his pamphlet, "The True Site of Calvary," New York (Randolph's), 1871.

in the memory and affection of every believer. The true cross is not the piece of wood found or "invented" by St. Helena and fraudulently multiplied a hundredfold all over Christendom, but that spiritual tree of life which bears healing fruit to every age and country, and to which the beautiful lines of Venantius Fortunatus apply :

"Faithful cross ! above all other
One and only noble tree !
None in foliage, none in blossom,
None in fruit thy peers may be.
Sweetest wood and sweetest iron,
Sweetest weight is hung on thee."

CHAPTER XXVII.

MOUNT OLIVET.

Jerusalem built on Hills and surrounded by Hills—
Olivet in the Gospels—Crossing the Kedron—
Gethsemane—The Spot of the Ascension—Beth-
any—Martha and Mary—The Resurrection of
Lazarus—Farewell to Bethany.

THERE are "mountains round about Jerusalem." Like Rome, Jerusalem is built on hills and surrounded by hills. It is 2,500 feet above the Mediterranean, and 3,700 feet above the Dead Sea. From the east and from the west there is a steady ascent to it; hence the phrase "to go up to Jerusalem." It stands on the mountain ridge which runs from north to south and forms the backbone of Palestine. It is built upon Mount Zion in the southwest and the lower Mount Moriah in the east. These two hills are separated by the Tyropœon or Cheese-mongers' Valley (which is nearly filled up with rubbish). Both are surrounded by ravines, which unite with the Tyropœon in the south, Zion by the valley of Hinnom, Moriah by the valley of the Kedron or Jehoshaphat. The best place from which to study the panorama for orientation is Mount Olivet, with the Bible in the right hand and Josephus in the left. There you see the holy city in her lonely melancholy grandeur, with her walls and towers, her churches, mosques, and dome-roofed houses. It is the saddest, and yet the most impressive view in the world.

Mount Olivet, or the Mount of Olives (called by the Arabs "Jebel et-Tûr"), is separated from Jerusalem by the deep and narrow valley of the Kedron. It overtops the Temple hill by 300 feet, and rises 2,724 feet above the Mediterranean Sea. Whatever doubt may attach to Christ's presence in any of the man-made streets of modern Jerusalem, which lies on the ruins of older Jerusalems, we are sure of the locality of this God-made mountain, which has indeed been denuded of its forests and verdure, and looks barren and neglected, yet has not lost its identity, and cannot be changed in its essential features. It is very prominent in the closing scenes of our Saviour's ministry. In Bethany, on the eastern slope of Olivet, he had his most intimate friends, Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, and performed his last and greatest miracle;* from Mount Olivet he made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem;† here he spent the nights intervening between the entry and his passion, and returned every morning to teach in the temple;‡ descending from this mountain, he wept over the ungrateful city and foretold her fearful doom;§ to it he repaired in the night of his betrayal;|| from it he ascended to heaven to take possession of his throne.¶ And there he reigns ever since, at the right hand of the Father, corporeally absent, but, according to his solemn promise,** spiritually

* John 11:1; 12:1 seq.; comp. Luke 10:38-42.

† Matt. 21:1; Mark 11:1; Luke 19:29-38.

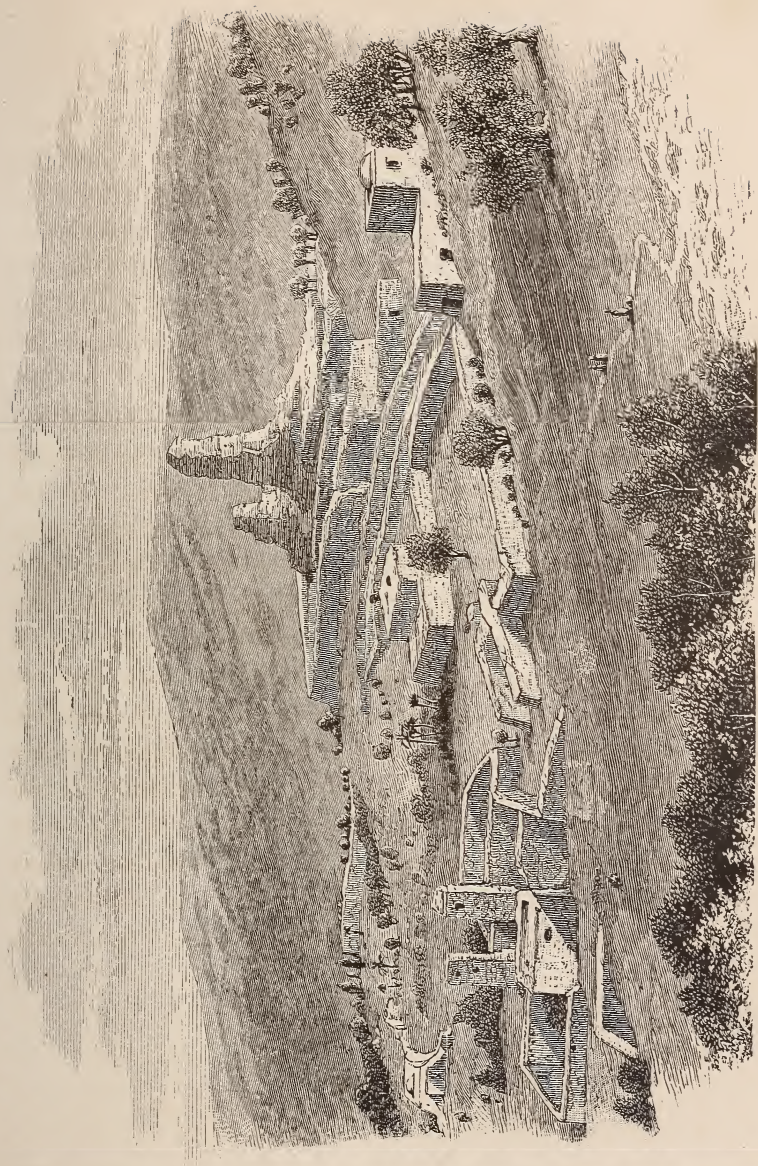
‡ Luke 21:37.

§ Luke 21:41-44; comp. ver. 37.

|| John 18:1; Matt. 26:36; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:39.

¶ Luke 24:50; Acts 1:12.

** Matt. 28:20.



BETHANY.

and dynamically omnipresent in his Church, which is "his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all,"* until he shall visibly descend from heaven, even as he ascended.†

When Jesus passed out of St. Stephen's Gate (the ancient Fish-gate) down the ravine, and crossed that black winter torrent called Kedron (*i. e.*, the Black Brook), which is formed by the winter rains, but is entirely dry in summer (even in April as far as my experience goes), it was far more than Cæsar's crossing the Rubicon for the military conquest of the world; it was the passage which decided the moral and eternal redemption of the world. David, betrayed by Ahithophel, one of his body-guard, took the same course in his flight from his rebellious son Absalom‡—a remarkable parallel, the typical import of which Jesus himself pointed out.§ In the garden of Gethsemane (*i. e.*, Oil-press), at the foot of the Mount of Olives, he was overwhelmed with sorrow and anguish, and endured the mysterious agony with all the powers of darkness, in the stead and in behalf of a fallen race. Here he was betrayed by the Judas-kiss, which he anticipated and made meaningless. Here the heathen garrison and the Jewish temple guard combined under the lead of the traitor, against the one unarmed Jesus; and yet, made cowards by conscience and overawed by the superhuman majesty of Jesus, like the profane traffickers in the temple, they fell to the ground before his "I am He!" The same words which cheered his trembling disciples on the stormy lake and after the

* Eph. 1 : 23. † Acts 1 : 11. ‡ 2 Sam. 15 : 23. § John 13 : 18.

resurrection, are here words of terror to his enemies, and will be on the day of judgment.

There is no evidence to prove, but no good reason to deny, the identity of the spot now shown as GETHSEMANE. Some think it is too near the city and the thoroughfare for a place of retirement in that dangerous and dismal night. We reach it by an easy walk through St. Stephen's Gate over the dry bed of the Kedron. It lies on the slope of Mount Olivet, and is in the possession of the Franciscans. It is a garden with seven or eight majestic olive-trees, which are perhaps the oldest and certainly the most venerable trees in the world, though of course not of the time of our Lord—for Titus cut down all the trees round the city during the siege. But they may have sprouted from the roots of the original trees. The garden is enclosed by a new wall, and kept in very good order. A kind old Franciscan monk gave us olive leaves and flowers from this ever-memorable spot. The Greek Gethsemane is a short distance north of the Latin, and marked by a rude chapel in the rock. The two traditions may be reconciled by supposing that the Gethsemane of the Greek Church was the interior part of the garden, to which the Saviour retired for prayer.

From Gethsemane we ascend in a few minutes to the height of Mount OLIVET, so famous for the crowning scene in the earthly life of our Lord. St. Helena built the Church of the Ascension on one of the three summits. Other churches and convents were built by the Crusaders to memorialize particular events. The mountain is now barren and neglected, in the hands of the

Moslems. A few scattered olive-trees only are left to justify its name. A little care and cultivation would make it very attractive. It affords the finest view of Jerusalem and Mount Moriah, while in the east the mountains of Moab, parts of the Dead Sea, and the Jordan are clearly seen. Here and on the neighboring Mount Scopus the Roman army was encamped during the siege.

Tradition fixes the Ascension on the middle summit, in full sight of Jerusalem, but in plain contradiction to the narrative of Luke, who locates it near Bethany, on the retired eastern slope of the mountain.* No importance, of course, can be attached to the mark of the foot of the ascending Jesus, pointed out in the Mohammedan mosque, but the mosque is well worth ascending on account of the magnificent view it affords over the most historic of all the historic regions on earth. A short distance from it a Russian lady erected a fine dwellinghouse. A little south of it the French Princesse Latour d'Auvergne, a relative of Napoleon III., built, in 1868, a church in the style of a campo santo over the spot where Christ is said to have taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer, and caused this Prayer of prayers to be inscribed on thirty-one slabs in as many different languages, as a symbol of the unity and universality of Christian devotion. A monument in white marble perpetuates her memory. West of this

* Luke 24:50: "And he led them out as far as to (ἐως εἰς) Bethany," or, according to the true reading, "over against or towards Bethany" (ἐως πρὸς τὴν Βηθανίαν). In Acts 1, Luke says nothing of the locality, but presupposes his previous statement. Mark (16:19) likewise is silent about the locality of the ascension.

church we visited the chapel commemorating the composition of the Apostles' Creed, according to a tradition not older than the fourth century, and long since disproved as untenable. This Creed of creeds is apostolic indeed in spirit and power, but not in form, and gradually grew up from the inner life of the ancient Church.

From the top of Mount Olivet it is an easy descent to BETHANY on its southeastern declivity. It can also be reached by the road to Jericho which leads round the mountain. It is only two miles* from Jerusalem. It is now a miserable village of about forty hovels, inhabited by beggarly Mohammedans. They call it, in honor of Lazarus, "El-Azarîyeh," and show the house of Martha and Mary, the house of Simon the leper, the tower of Lazarus, and his reputed sepulchre, a wretched cavern in the limestone rock, like a cellar, with about twenty-five steps, to which we descend by the dim light of a taper. There is no probability of the genuineness of these particular localities ; on the contrary, the grave of Lazarus was some distance from the village.

Bethany is pleasantly located, has good water, and is surrounded by cultivated spots and numerous fig, olive, almond, and carob trees. It was once a home of peace, inhabited by three children of peace and visited by the Prince of peace. It was the sacred spot of the friendship of Jesus. Here he revealed more of his *human* nature than elsewhere. Here he enjoyed the hospitality of Martha, the practical housekeeper, and allowed her contemplative sister Mary to sit at his feet and to

* Fifteen furlongs, John 11 : 18. A furlong or stadium is 125 paces.

perform, in the foreboding presentiment of his death, that touching service of devoted love for which she will be commemorated to the end of time. Here he wept tears of friendship over the grave of Lazarus "whom he loved." The eternal Son of God dissolved in tears! How far more natural, lovely, and attractive is a weeping, sympathizing Saviour, than a cold, heartless stoic! How near these tears bring him to every child of sorrow and grief! But here also he revealed himself as the Resurrection and the Life, and wrought the greatest of miracles by the creative words, "Lazarus, come forth!" This act is a seal of his divinity and a pledge of our future resurrection. There is no escape from the plain, circumstantial narrative of John, one of the eyewitnesses. We must admit the truth, or resort to the disgraceful hypothesis of imposture, which explains nothing, but perverts the supernatural miracle into an unnatural monstrosity. Spinoza said to his friends, if he could believe the resurrection of Lazarus, he would dash to pieces his entire system of philosophy, and embrace without repugnance the common faith of Christians. This is sound reasoning. If Christ could raise the dead to life, he could easily perform the lesser miracles of healing, and must truly have been the eternal Son of God.

We left Bethany as we left other spots in Palestine, for ever consecrated to memory. It is a melancholy shadow of the past, but it may again become, at some future day, a delightful suburban retreat of domestic happiness and peace.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CONVENT OF MAR SABA.

From Jerusalem to the Dead Sea—The Convent of Mar Saba—A wonderful Building Perched on the Rocky Precipice—The Curiosities—The Library—St. Sabas and St. John of Damascus—Mar Saba and Mount Sinai—The Monks.

ON a beautiful April day after Easter we leave Jerusalem on an expedition to the Dead Sea. We pass through the Via Dolorosa and St. Stephen's Gate into the dry valley of the Kedron, and ride over rocky hills to the Convent of Mar Sâba, which we reach in three hours. The valley of the Kedron is barren and desolate, wild and romantic. Our new dragoman, Mr. M. Ward, is an intelligent, self-educated American, who came in early youth with the unfortunate colony of Rev. Mr. Adams to Jaffa, and remained with Mr. Rolla Floyd after the colony broke up. They are, from their intelligence and familiarity with the Bible, the very best dragomen in Palestine.

Mar Sâba is a fortified Convent in the desert of Judæa, built on the side of a rocky precipice, 590 feet above the ravine of the Kedron. It is the most curious structure in all Palestine. Walls, towers, buttresses, chapels, and chambers, are perched upon rock terraces, like eagles' nests. On the opposite cliffs we see a number of caves, once the abode of hermits, now of jackals, bats, and owls. The whole has a singularly wild and roman-

tic, but utterly desolate aspect. This strange labyrinth encloses St. Sâba's sepulchre in the centre of a paved court beneath a dome-shaped mausoleum (but without his body, which has been removed to Venice), his cave-dwelling (once a lion's den), the tomb of St. John of Damascus, a church, chapels, and cells, a grotto filled with skulls of martyred monks, and small gardens in the courts, with a few olive and fig trees.

The convent has considerable historical interest. It was founded in the fifth century by St. Sâbas, one of the greatest saints of the Greek Church, whose empty tomb and cave-dwelling are still the chief objects of devotion. It was the residence of St. John of Damascus, who in the eighth century wrote here his great work on the Orthodox Faith, as St. Jerome wrote his Vulgate in a cell in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. John of Damascus is the standard divine, we may say the Thomas Aquinas, of the Greek Church, and his views on the single procession of the Holy Spirit were embodied in the compromise of the Old Catholic Bonn Conference of 1875. Of this, however, the monk who showed us his humble study and tomb knew nothing at all. He could not even tell whether his books were in the convent. Through the happy reproductions of John Mason Neale some of the resurrection odes of this great divine have been naturalized in our churches :

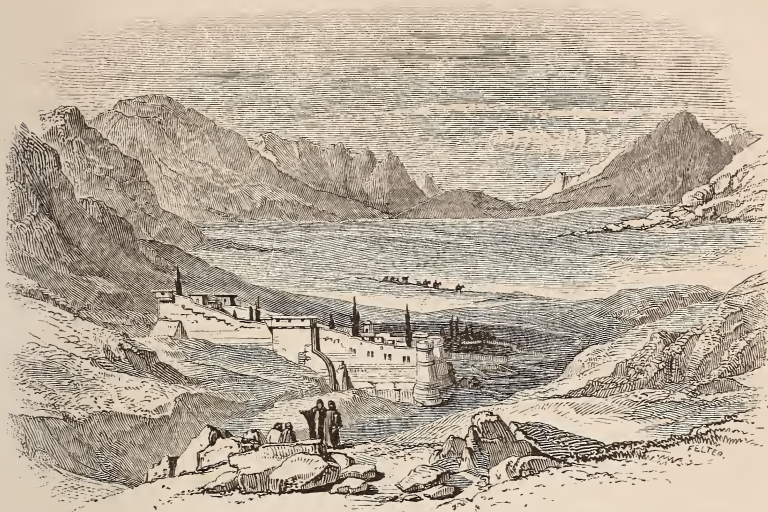
"'T is the day of resurrection !
Earth, tell it out abroad,"

and,

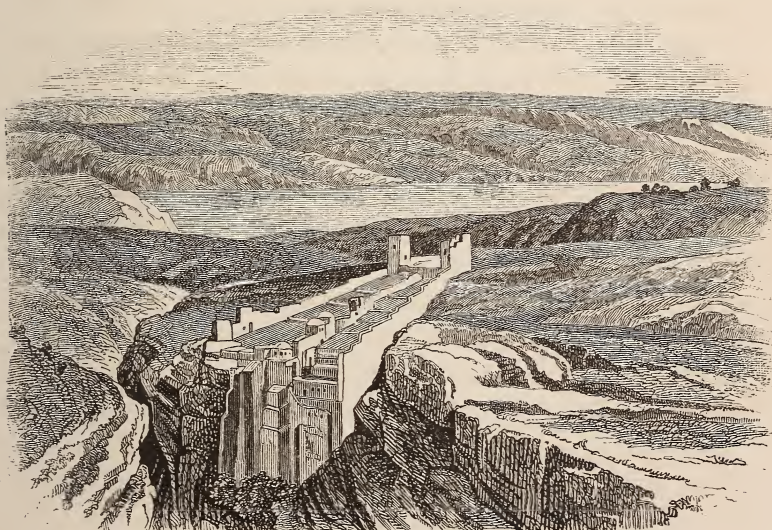
“Come, ye faithful, raise the strain
Of triumphant gladness.”

The library is said to be very valuable; and the monks, since they found this out, after a visit of Prof. Tischendorf, are very reluctant to show it, and yet they are too ignorant to make any use of it. Although I had a special permit from the Greek patriarch at Jerusalem, I had some difficulty to get access to it. The usual printed order “for the inspection of the sacred laura of St. Sâba” was accompanied by a postscript from the hand of the patriarch, or his secretary, “to admit us also into the library.” The library is locked up in a little dark room, with one grated window, above the chapel, and contains about five hundred bound manuscript volumes in Greek, mostly patristic works and copies of the Gospels. Some books are beautifully written on parchment. I had too little time to examine them; but a biblical and patristic scholar who could spend a few weeks here, or could secure the loan of the books, through the patriarch of Jerusalem, might find valuable treasures, if we are to judge from the good fortune of Dr. Tischendorf at the Convent of Mount Sinai. There are there several copies of the Greek Gospels and Epistles as reported by Scholz and Coxe,* which may reward a careful examination. Coxe saw twenty copies of the Gospels, four of them being of the tenth century, five copies of the Epistles of Paul, and one of the Apocalypse (Scholz mentions two).

* See Rev. H. O. Coxe's *Report to Her Majesty's Government of the Greek Manuscripts yet remaining in the Libraries of the Levant*, 1858, and Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 2d edition, pp. 208, 209, 236, 249.



PLAIN ER-RAHAH, AND CONVENT OF ST. CATHARINE.



MAR SABA CONVENT, AND THE DEAD SEA.

Mar Sâba and the Convent of Mount Sinai resemble each other. Both belong to the Orthodox Greek Church ; both lie in a barren wilderness ; both are forts, as well as convents, and passed through many vicissitudes during the struggles between Christianity and Mohammedanism. But in ignorance and stupidity the monks of Mar Sâba (now sixty in number) excel even those of Mount Sinai. It would be unfair, of course, to judge the Greek Church from these convents, which seem to be used in part as penal establishments for refractory monks. But my general impression is that the Greek clergy and monks are more ignorant and superstitious than those of the Latin Church. I met on the road an accomplished Anglican clergyman, of ritualistic tendency, and longing for union with the venerable Greek sister Church. But the witnessing of the disgraceful fraud of the holy fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Greek Easter eve, and his visit to Mar Sâba, seemed to have cooled his zeal. On being asked how he liked this famous convent, he shrugged his shoulders and complained bitterly that he was not admitted to the library. The monks gave us cistern-water, which we could hardly drink, and sour bread and sour soup, which we could not eat. Murray's "Handbook" says that Mar Sâba is one of the richest convents in Palestine ; but the monks told us that they are very poor, especially since the Russians have withdrawn their support. They are all vegetarians, and forbidden to taste any meat. No woman has ever been admitted to this sacred enclosure. It would be a sin to do so. In this respect the convent of Sinai is

more liberal and civilized. I could converse only with two monks. One spoke broken French, another Greek. The latter read a little Greek pamphlet, printed in Athens, which contained a pretended "Letter of Christ, found in Gethsemane, on the grave of the Holy Mother of God." It is, of course, a pious fraud. On asking him why he did not rather read the Gospel, which contained the *genuine* words of Christ, I was told that this tract was shorter and just as edifying. Among other things, he told me that the greatest fault of the English and Americans was that they did not worship the Virgin Mary, who was next to God. I said, in reply, that Christ, not Mary, was our Saviour, and that faith in Christ alone could save us; to which he reluctantly consented.

We spent a night in the convent in a humble room, sleeping on the floor and disturbed by vermin, though no more than in Jerusalem and Jericho. Cleanliness is no part of monastic holiness, and the proverb, "Cleanliness is next to godliness," did not originate in the East. We attended the chapel service at 4 A. M., and saw the monks taking the daily communion. They had an earlier service at 2 A. M. It consists of reading prayers and chanting. If perfect isolation from the world and all the comforts and refinements of life could save a soul, these monks would go to heaven. But there is a surer and a better way.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DEAD SEA.

From Mar Saba to the Dead Sea—A Salt Bath—A Sea of Death—Description by Lieut. Lynch—Physical Features—Sodom and Gomorrah—Location of the Vale of Siddim—The Pillar of Salt—Comparison of the Dead Sea with the Salt Lake in Utah—Asiatic Stagnation and American Progress—Modern Researches of the Dead Sea.

LEAVING Mar Sâba at five in the morning, after attending the service of the monks, we ride over sterile hills and ravines, and reach at ten o'clock the DEAD SEA, or, as it is called in the Bible, the SALT SEA.*

Our minds look back to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and forward to the still more terrible future judgment of those cities of Galilee which witnessed the miracles of the Son of God, and refused to believe. We remember Lot's wife, who, looking back to the burning cities, in disobedience to the Divine command, was turned into a pillar of salt.†

* Genesis 14:3 (*ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἀλῶν* in the Sept., *mare salis* in the Vulg.). It is also called the EASTERN SEA, Ezek. 47:18; Zech. 14:8, in distinction from the Mediterranean, and the SEA OF THE PLAIN, Deut. 4:49. Josephus calls it the ASPHALTIC LAKE, the Arabs BAHR LUT. *i. e.*, the SEA OF LOT. The name DEAD SEA (*θάλασσα νεκρά*) originated with Greek writers, from exaggerated notions of its deadly climate, and became current in the Church since Eusebius and Jerome. In the New Testament it is nowhere alluded to, though Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned.

† Gen. 18 and 19; Deut. 29:23; comp. Matt. 11:24; 2 Pet. 2:6; Jude 7.

As soon as we have rested ourselves a little on a log of wood—for there is no human habitation nor any kind of shelter on the shore—we undress ourselves and take a bath in the lake. We can sit, lie, and swim on the surface of the heavy water without difficulty. At first we feel refreshed after the hot ride; but the spray soon becomes painful to the eye and irritating to the skin, and we feel the unpleasant sensation till we wash off the pungent crust of salt by another bath in the fresh waters of the Jordan.

The Dead Sea, as viewed from a distance, is not so forbidding as one would suppose. It presents rather a mournful picturesqueness. Its surface is calm and glassy, blue and transparent, and reflects the hills of Moab, with their brown and red rocks, broken clefts and ravines. Nor is it a region of absolute death, as was formerly believed. Swallows, partridges, storks, and ducks have been seen flying over it, and at a little distance from the shore are found fresh fountains and streams, shrubs, jungles of reeds, stunted acacias, and palms. There are even some traces of former cultivation, which explain the Biblical allusion to “vineyards of Engedi”^{*}—the wilderness on the western shore where David sought refuge from the persecution of Saul. Jewish Essenes and Christian hermits once lived in that region. The table-lands on the mountains of Moab, which extend along the eastern shore, are well watered, fertile, and

^{*} Cant. i : 14, “As a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi.” Camphire is the *Alhenna* of the Arabs, a whitish, fragrant flower, hanging in clusters like grapes.

productive. "Although the soil is badly tended," says Professor Palmer from personal exploration, "by the few and scattered Arab tribes, who inhabit it, large tracts of pasture-lands and extensive cornfields [grainfields] meet the eye at every turn. Ruined villages and towns, broken walls that once enclosed gardens and vineyards, remains of ancient roads—everything in Moab tells of the immense wealth and population which that country must have once enjoyed."*

But, with these qualifications, the Salt Sea is truly a sea of death and an accursed lake. No fish can live in it; no tree grows on its banks; its air is like the blast of a furnace; its water is offensive: "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink." The shores are barren and scorched, and incrustated with a thin coating of salt, in which horse and man sink at every step. Some dead driftwood, carried down by the Jordan, lies scattered on the shore. It would be difficult to find a more desolate and God-forsaken region on the earth. Even the wilderness of Sinai has some redeeming features in its grandeur and occasional oases:

"But here, above, around, below,
In mountain or in glen,
Nor tree, nor plant, nor shrub, nor flower,
Nor aught of vegetation power,
The wearied eye may ken;
But all its rocks at random thrown,
Salt waves, bare crags, and banks of stone."

In this judgment all travellers agree. Lieutenant Lynch calls more particularly the southern shore, where

* *The Desert of the Exodus*, Part II., p. 473, seq.

the catastrophe of the cities of the plain is usually located, "a scene of unmitigated desolation. On one side, rugged and worn, was the salt mountain of Usdum, with its conspicuous pillar, which reminded us at least of the catastrophe of the plain ; on the other were the lofty and barren cliffs of Moab, in one of the caves of which the fugitive Lot found shelter. To the south was an extensive flat intersected by sluggish drains, with the high hills of Edom semi-girdling the salt plain where the Israelites repeatedly overthrew their enemies ; and to the north was the calm and motionless sea, curtained with a purple mist, while many fathoms deep in the slimy mud beneath it lay imbedded the ruins of the ill-fated cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The glare of light was blinding to the eye, and the atmosphere difficult of respiration. No bird fanned with its wings the attenuated air through which the sun poured his scorching rays upon the mysterious element on which we floated, and which alone, of all the works of its Maker, contains no living thing within it."*

Aside from its forbidding character and hostility to the life of man and animal, the Dead Sea is a most remarkable phenomenon. It is the lowest depression on the face of the earth. It lies about 1,300 feet beneath the Mediterranean Sea ; it receives the waters of the Jordan six miles south of Jericho, and has no outlet, and can have none, as the ground rises on its southern shore ; the evaporation is sufficient to carry off the supply of

* *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, p. 310.

water from without. It forms an oval, and measures about forty miles in length and nine in breadth. It is nearly the size of the Lake of Geneva, but differs from it as a lake of Gehenna from a lake of Paradise. Its lowest depth is 1,308 feet. The water is heavily charged with salt; its specific gravity is greater than that of any other water known. The body floats on the surface like a log of wood. The ordinary sea-water has about four per cent. of salt; the Dead Sea water more than twenty-six per cent.

The formation of the lake basin is supposed by some modern writers to be wholly due to the action of the water. It seems to be a pool left by the ocean on its retreat.

This is not in conflict with the narrative in Genesis, ch. 19, for this ascribes the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, not to volcanic action of the earth, but to the raining of brimstone and fire "out of heaven." Nor is it anywhere stated in the Bible that the Dead Sea is the result of this catastrophe, as the popular view supposes. The lake is no doubt older than those cities, and was also smaller than at present, extending perhaps only to the peninsula El Lisan, but by some convulsion of nature it was made to overflow its former limits. Dr. Robinson supposes that a conflagration and earthquake, or volcanic action combined, consumed and scooped out the surface of the plain itself, so that the waters of the lake rushing in, spread themselves out over the once fertile tract.

The location of the vale of Siddim, or the cities of

the plain, is a matter of dispute. The traditional view, which is advocated by Dr. Robinson and Lieut. Lynch, places them at the southern end of the lake, while some modern writers remove them to the northern end on the east of the Jordan.

The former view dates from Josephus and Jerome, who speak of Zoar, to which Lot fled and which was near Sodom (Gen. 19:20), as being at the southern extremity of the present lake (probably in the mouth of the Wady Kerak).^{*} It is supported by the following arguments:

1. Abraham saw the rising smoke of the doomed cities from Mamre, or a hill-top near Hebron (Gen. 19:27, 28). This was impossible if the cities were on the northern border.

2. The Bible informs us (Gen. 14:10) that the vale of Siddim near the Salt Sea was full of "slime-pits," that is, wells of bitumen or asphaltum, which burns like oil. On the south shore, and there only, masses of bitumen encrusted with sulphur have been found.[†] Perhaps the houses of those doomed cities were built of bituminous

^{*} The traditional site of Zoar is at the ruins of Dra'a, some little distance from the lake, on the road to Kerak, in a spot abounding with palm-trees. It was an Episcopal see under the archbishop of Petra, and was represented in the Council of Chalcedon (451).

[†] "After the earthquake of 1834, a large quantity of asphaltum was cast upon the shore near the southwest part of the lake, of which one tribe of Arabs brought about sixty *kuntârs* (cwt.) to market, and a large amount was purchased by the Frank merchants of Beirût. Again, after the great earthquake of January, 1837, which destroyed Safed, a large mass of bitumen (one said like an island, another like a house) was discovered floating in the sea, and was driven aground on the west side, not far from Jebel Usdum. The neighboring Arabs swam off around it, and cut it up with axes, so as to bring it ashore." Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 220, 221.

limestone and cemented with bitumen, so that when ignited by lightning from heaven they would burn like "a furnace" (Gen. 19: 27, 28).

3. Recent explorations have shown the southern part of the lake to be shallow, and nowhere more than twelve or thirteen feet deep, while the northern part has a depth of over 1,300 feet.

On the other hand, Canon Tristram pleads for the northern site, especially on the ground of his alleged but doubtful identification of the Biblical Zoar with the ruins of the Arab village Zi'ara, on the brow of a spur of Mount Nebo, at the head of the Dead Sea. He maintains that the "plain," must have been in the "ciccar" (circle) or "ghor" of the Jordan, as that region, when selected by Lot, was well watered, "even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" (Gen. 13: 10-12).^{*} But this may have applied just as well to the southern shore. "Even at the present day," says Dr. Robinson, "more living streams flow into the south end of the sea than are to be found so near together in all Palestine; and the tract, although now mostly a desert, is still better watered through these streams and by the many fountains, than any other district throughout the whole country."

We adhere therefore to the traditional view. The Arab legend of the catastrophe of the vale of Siddim,

^{*} *The Land of Moab* pp. 343, seq. The same view was advocated by Grove in Smith's *Bible Dict.* (in articles *Sodom* and *Zoar*), by Captain Wilson (in *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. 4), and Professor Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus*, Part II., p. 480). Grove's articles are ably disputed by Dr. Samuel Wolcott in Haskett and Abbot's edition of Smith's *Bible Dict.*

which agrees substantially with the Biblical narrative, likewise locates Usdum (Sodom) and the pillar of salt at the southern extremity. The Arabs call this pillar "Bint Sheikh Lot," *i. e.*, "Lot's Wife." "Bint," says Palmer, properly means "daughter," but in Moab it is used for "wife," perhaps in lingering reminiscence of the crime of Lot's daughters (Gen. 19:30-38). Josephus professes to have seen such a pillar in his day. Lieut. Lynch claims to have discovered it in 1848 at Usdum, on the southern shore, and thus describes it: * "Soon after, to our astonishment, we saw on the eastern side of Usdum, one-third the distance from its northern extreme, a lofty round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. We immediately pulled in for the shore, and Dr. Anderson and I went up and examined it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud encrusted with salt, and a short distance from the water, covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidical behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upward, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization. A prop or buttress connects it with the mountain behind, and the whole is covered with debris of a light stone color. Its peculiar shape is doubtless attributable to the action of

* *Narrative of the United States Expedition*, p. 307. See the picture of the Pillar of Salt, p. 308.

the winter rains. The Arabs had told us in vague terms that there was to be found a pillar somewhere upon the shores of the sea." F. de Saulcy saw in the same locality several vast, disconnected, pyramidical columns of salt, and supposes that Lot's wife was crushed and covered by one of them.* But this is hardly consistent with the plain meaning of the narrative. Canon Tristram, on his second visit, found a considerable change which the short period of eight years had made; several isolated fragments of salt, or "Lot's wives," had been washed away, and other pinnacles had been detached by the rains to take their places. He describes that region as "the most desolate and dreary corner of that desolate shore, without one trace of vegetable life, not even a stray *salsola* or *salicornia* to relieve the flat sand-beds."† Palmer locates the Bint Sheikh Lot farther north on the eastern shore, above the projecting promontory El Lisan (The Tongue), and describes it as "a tall isolated needle of rock, which does really bear a curious resemblance to an Arab woman with a child upon her shoulders," and made him almost believe that he had seen the prophet's wife peering sadly after her perished home in the unknown depths of that accursed sea.‡

These curious salt pillars served to keep alive for so many ages the local tradition of the disastrous event.

The Dead Sea is not the only inland sheet of salt water. In Utah Territory which I recently visited (June,

* *Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea in 1850 and 1851.* London, 1853. Vol. II., p. 269.

† *The Land of Moab.* New York, 1873. Pp. 52-54.

‡ *The Desert of the Exodus*, Part II., pp. 478-480.

1878), there is likewise a "Salt Lake," without an outlet, and connected with a sweet water lake, "Lake Utah," by a turbid and rapid stream which the Mormons baptized "Jordan." An analysis of the waters of both gives the same results. A bath in the Salt Lake has the same effect, but is facilitated by an hotel and a bath-house on "Lake Point;" while on the Dead Sea there is no convenience of any kind. The contrasts are remarkable. The Salt Lake is much larger, has several mountainous islands, and lies 4,200 feet *above* the sea level, while the Dead Sea lies 1,300 feet *beneath* the Mediterranean. The elevation of Lake Utah is 4,482 feet, the depression of the surface of the Lake of Galilee 653 feet. The Jordan of Palestine flows southward, the Jordan of Utah Territory flows northward, and supplies water for irrigating the numerous farms in its valley.

The greatest difference is the change produced by the industry of men. The shores of the Dead Sea and the Jordan are a dreary desert, and the roaming Bedawin, like the wild Indians of America, disdain agricultural labor, preferring to live like animals. When the Mormons, fleeing from the persecution of their fellow-Americans over the unbroken prairies of the West, settled in Utah Territory, as their land of promise, thirty-one years ago (July, 1847), before its annexation to the United States, they found it a desert as wild as Judæa, inhabited by bears and savage men; but in a few years they transformed it, by irrigation and cultivation, into a fruitful garden. A few miles from Salt Lake they built Salt Lake City, laid out in wide regular streets, ornamented

by shade-trees, and refreshed by running streams of clear water from the mountain. They erected in the midst of it a tabernacle of worship which can accommodate ten thousand persons, and they are now erecting another tabernacle for winter use, and a magnificent temple for the performance of baptisms, ordinations, and other ordinances. They made the surrounding country, after washing the alkali out of the soil by irrigation, yield excellent wheat, oats, pasture, apricots, apples, pears, plums, and vegetables in abundance. They sent out apostles and evangelists to foreign countries, and are still attracting large numbers of poor and hard-working emigrants from England, Wales, Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland, who desire to improve their temporal condition and to become independent producers. Salt Lake City numbers already about 25,000 inhabitants (including about 2,000 "Gentiles," so called as distinct from the Mormon "Saints"), and the whole territory of Utah perhaps over 125,000, far more than sufficient to make it a sovereign State in the Union, if it were not for the peculiar institution of polygamy, which is utterly incompatible with our Western civilization and the dignity and happiness of our home-life.

The short history of this Mormon settlement proves what religious fanaticism, combined with industry, perseverance, and artisan skill, can accomplish in spite of all difficulties. Mormonism is a modern American edition of Mohammedanism ; but Mohammedan fanaticism works only destruction, and the Turkish government ruins the countries over which it rules. The Mormons

would do a good service both to America and to Turkey if they were to emigrate to the Sinaitic Peninsula and the shores of the Dead Sea, and teach their Ishmaelite cousins a lesson of American industry and thrift.

But Mormonism deserves no more credit than American energy and enterprise in the great new West between the banks of the Missouri and the Sierra Nevada. Denver in Colorado is younger and more flourishing than Salt Lake City. The whole "American Desert," which stretches north and south of the Union and Central Pacific railroads over the Rocky Mountains through hundreds of miles from Nebraska to the boundaries of California, is diminishing every year, and wherever water can be had from the mountain or the river, the sage-brush and buffalo-grass are giving way to villages, cultivated farms, and gardens.

The Dead Sea has for the first time been partially explored by SEETZEN in 1807; then by COSTIGAN, July, 1835; by G. H. MOORE and W. G. BEKE, March, 1837; by Lieut. MOLYNEUX, Sept., 1847, but with very little result.

The first thorough navigation and exploration was made in 1848 by W. F. LYNCH, of the United States Navy. His *Narrative** is, next to the *Biblical Researches* of Dr. Robinson, and *The Land and the Book* of Dr. Thomson, the most important American contribution to the Palestine literature. Lieutenant Lynch, in command of an expedition fitted out at the expense of the United States government, sailed with two metallic boats of great strength and buoyancy, one of copper and one of galvanized iron, which had to be transported with great labor from the shore of the Mediterranean to the Lake of Tiberias, down the innumerable windings and dangerous rapids of the Jordan to the Dead Sea, and spent

* *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Philadelphia, 1849, ninth ed., 1853. See also his *Official Journal of the U. S. Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan*, 1852.

there full three weeks (from April 18 to May 10, 1848), exploring its length, breadth, and depth, at the risk of health. One of his companions, Lieutenant Dale, lost his life. Science, as well as religion, has its heroes and martyrs.

In 1850 and 1851 F. DE SAULCY, a member of the French Institute, visited the region of the Dead Sea, and published a narrative which appeared in an English translation at London, 1853, in two vols.

Lieut. VAN DE VELDE of Holland followed in 1852, and produced one of the best maps of the Holy Land.

In 1864 the French duke DE LUYNES, and in 1865 the Württemberg geologist, Dr. OSKAR FRAAS, explored the Dead Sea. Fraas disputes the theory of the formation of the lake by volcanic convulsions, and traces it to the power of the mountain torrents, but he admits the possibility of the Biblical account of the destruction of populous cities in the plain.

Professor E. H. PALMER and TYRWHITT DRAKE completed their desert journey, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in 1870, by passing through the land of Moab to the northeast end of the Dead Sea, where they crossed the Jordan.

In 1872 Canon TRISTRAM explored the comparatively unknown land of Moab, and claims, among the results of his journey, the recovery of several ancient sites. He says: "The careful verification of Machærus, the scene of John the Baptist's imprisonment and martyrdom; the very interesting discovery of Zoar(?), with the valuable illustration it affords of the careful accuracy of the Scriptural narrative in the minutest details; the finding of a palace of Chosroes, with its sumptuous architecture, and the ray of light it casts upon one of the most obscure periods of later Roman history—these certainly were enough to reward the most sanguine explorer. Even apart from these principal discoveries, there is scarcely a passage in Holy Writ, in which Moab is mentioned, which was not in some degree illustrated during the journey; and the glowing prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the allusions of Amos and Zephaniah, the story of the wars of Sihon, of Jephthah, and of Joab, must ever be read with deepened interest by those who have noted their marvellous coincidences with the state of the country as we now see it."*

* *The Land of Moab*, New York (Harper's), 1873, Preface.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE JORDAN.

From the Dead Sea to the Pilgrim's Bathing-Place—A Bath in the Jordan—Character of the Jordan—Its Navigation—Rob Roy—The Historic Associations—The Bathing of the Pilgrims—The Mountains of Moab—The Death of Moses—Jericho—The Fountain of Elisha—Quarantania, the Mount of Temptation—Arrival at Bethel—Three Companies of Tourists.

A FATIGUING ride of an hour and a half in the tropical sun over a barren plain brings us from the Dead Sea to the river Jordan at the bathing-place of the pilgrims, the traditional site of Christ's baptism. The river is here 80 feet broad and 9 feet deep. The banks are covered with oleanders, tamarisks, willows, and balsam-wood. The water is muddy, the current very swift. There are no conveniences for bathing except a strong rope tied to the trees. Holding on to this rope, I took a most refreshing bath beneath the shadow of the trees. After the salt bath in the lake of death it was like a bath of regeneration. I immersed myself ten times, and felt so comfortable that I almost imagined I was miraculously delivered from rheumatism. I have plunged into many a river and many a lake, and into the waves of the ocean, but of all the baths that in the Jordan will linger longest in my memory.

After a light lunch I rested a couple of hours on the western bank, while my companions crossed over to the

soil of Moab. My thoughts were lost in the historic associations of the sacred stream.

The Jordan is the chief and the only important river of Palestine, as the Nile is the one river of Egypt. It traverses the whole length of the country from north to south, as the Nile traverses Egypt in the opposite direction; but with the exception of the luxuriant jungle of shrub and wood on the narrow banks, where lions and other wild beasts from the desert formerly sought shelter, it has no effect upon the surrounding desolate country, while the Nile spreads life and fertility for miles to the right and the left. It receives no tributaries of any importance except the Yarmûk (Hieromax) and the Jabbok from the east. The former is not mentioned in the Bible; the latter is connected with Jacob's mysterious conflict of prayer on his return to Canaan.* Taking its rise in three or more perennial fountains at the base of Mount Hermon, the Jordan passes through the rich plain of Hûleh into the waters of Merom, and flows twelve miles farther on into the Lake of Tiberias; emerging from this, it plunges in twenty-seven rapids down a fall of 1,000 feet, and at last empties its turbid yellow waters, which resemble those of the Tiber, into the Dead Sea, where it finds its grave. For the old idea that it flows into the Red Sea is a physical impossibility, and has long since been abandoned. It traverses at least 200 miles from the Hâsbeiyah source to the Dead Sea, while the direct distance is only 115 or 120 miles. It is the most tortuous and also

* Gen. 33 : 22-32.

the most rapid river in the world. Its rapidity gives force to its name, "the Flowing," or "the Descender."* Its total fall is 3,000 feet, or 15 feet per mile of its channel, 25 feet per mile of its direct distance. The Rhine in its most rapid course has but one half of the average descent of the Jordan. The width of the river varies from 60 to 160 feet, its depth from 5 to 12 feet. It is never navigated for traffic, nor resorted to for fishing. There are no bridges or boats mentioned in the Bible. The river was crossed at fords.† It seems at present to be of no use at all except as a watering-place for the Bedawin, and as a bathing-place for Christian travellers and pilgrims. The valley of the lower Jordan, called by the Arabs El-Ghôr, *i. e.*, the Hollow, is a broad depressed plain shut in between two ranges of mountains. Geologists suppose that the Ghôr was the basin of a vast inland lake.

The middle and lower Jordan, from the Lake of Galilee to the Salt Lake, has been three times navigated in a boat, first by an Irishman, Costigan, in 1835, who caught a fever and died in the Latin convent at Jerusalem, without leaving any notes; then by an English lieutenant, Molyneux, in 1847; and last, with richer scientific results, by Lieutenant Lynch, of the United States Navy,

* ירדן, Ἰορδάνης, from ירד, to *go down*, to *flow*. In the original it is always used with the article, except in two passages, while King James' Version, contrary to English usage, strangely omits it. The Arabs call the river el-Urdun, but more frequently esh-Sheriah, "the Watering-Place." In like manner the German *Rhine* comes from *rinnen*, to *flow*.

† 1 Sam. 13:7; 2 Sam. 10:17. The "ferry-boat" of the English Version, 2 Sam. 19:18, was only a raft to carry over David's household.



JERICO AND THE DEAD SEA.

in 1848. The upper Jordan has been navigated by Mr. J. Macgregor, of London, in his famous canoe *Rob Roy*, in 1869.

The sight of the Jordan is rather disappointing. It bears no comparison in majesty and beauty to the great rivers of Europe and America. Naaman thought the clear rivers of his native Damascus far superior; yet the Abana and Pharpar could not wash away his leprosy. Its chief importance is historic. In this respect the Jordan surpasses the Hudson and Mississippi, the Rhine and the Danube, and even the Nile. It marks the termination of the wanderings of the children of Israel from the banks of the Nile, and the beginning of their history as an independent nation in their own home. It blends the memories of the Old and New Covenants, as the culmination of John's testimony and the inauguration of Christ's kingdom. "Surely," says Macgregor in the charming account of his unique cruise, "the Jordan is by far the most wonderful stream on the face of the earth, and the memories of its history will not be forgotten in heaven."*

Here the people of Israel, after their weary pilgrimage, crossed into the land of promise on dry ground by a miracle as great as that of the passage of the Red Sea.† Here Elijah and Elisha, coming from Jericho, crossed by another miracle, the former to ascend on a "chariot of fire and horses of fire by a whirlwind into heaven," the other to receive the mantle of the greatest prophet in Israel.‡ Here Naaman of Syria, "dipping himself seven

* *Rob Roy on the Jordan* (London and New York), p. 406.

† Josh. 3:1-17.

‡ 2 Kings 2:8-14.

times," recovered from his leprosy, and "his flesh came again, like unto the flesh of a little child."* Here John the Baptist, the new Elijah, clothed in raiment of camels' hair, with a leathern girdle round his loins, baptized the people with the water-baptism of repentance, and pointed to that higher One who was to baptize them "with the Holy Ghost and with fire."† Here Jesus himself was baptized by his forerunner and inaugurated into his public ministry. Here the heavens were opened, and the Spirit of God descended upon him like a dove, and the voice of the Father proclaimed him the beloved Son with whom he was well pleased.‡

Since that time, bathing in the waters of the Jordan has been esteemed a special privilege. The emperor Constantine desired it, but died before he could enjoy it. Thousands of pilgrims, especially of the Greek Church, at the Easter season hope to find in the Jordan ablution of their sins, relying more on the magic virtue of the water than the cleansing power of the blood of atonement through a living faith; while many others fill their bottles with the sacred water to use it for baptism, innocently or superstitiously, in their distant homes. No scene reminds us so forcibly of the multitudinous baptisms of John, when "from Jerusalem and all Judæa and all the region round about the Jordan" the people "came to him confessing their sins," as the bathing of the pilgrims. I did not witness it, as Easter Monday had passed, but I will copy the description of Lieutenant Lynch, who was there in April, 1848:

* 2 Kings 5:14. † Matt. 3:11, ‡ Matt. 3:13-17; John 1:32, 33.

"In all the wild haste of a disorderly rout, Copts and Russians, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians, from all parts of Asia, from Europe, from Africa, and from far-distant America, on they came, men, women, and children, of every age and hue, and in every variety of costume; talking, screaming, shouting, in almost every known language under the sun. Mounted as variously as those who had preceded them, many of the women and children were suspended in baskets or confined in cages; and with their eyes strained towards the river, heedless of all intervening obstacles, they hurried eagerly forward, and, dismounting in haste and disrobing with precipitation, rushed down the bank and threw themselves into the stream. They seemed to be absorbed by one impulsive feeling, and perfectly regardless of the observation of others. Each one plunged himself, or was dipped by another, three times below the surface, in honor of the Trinity, and then filled a bottle, or some other utensil, from the river. The bathing-dress of many of the pilgrims was a white gown with a black cross upon it. Most of them, as soon as they dressed, cut branches either of the agnus castus, or willow, and dipping them in the consecrated stream, bore them away as memorials of their visit. . . . The pageant disappeared as rapidly as it had approached, and left to us once more the silence and the solitude of the wilderness. It was like a dream. An immense crowd of human beings, said to be 8,000, but I thought not so many, had passed and repassed before our tents and left not a vestige behind them. Every one bathed, a few Franks ex-

cepted; the greater number in a quiet and reverential manner, but some, I am sorry to say, displayed an ill-timed levity.”*

Dean Stanley likewise gives a graphic account from his recollections, and was struck with the apparent absence of emotion and enthusiasm, with the decorum, gravity, and deliberate business aspect of the transaction.

Beyond the southeastern banks of the Jordan arise the blue hills of MOAB, which I first saw from the top of Mount Olivet. They are intimately connected with the history of Israel and the last days of that wonderful man of God who had brought his people through the wilderness to the borders of the promised land, but was not permitted to enter it. The meanest of the Israelites could cross the Jordan, but the great leader and law-giver was excluded for a single offence—the want of faith on one trying occasion.† He was shown from Mount Nebo “all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the hinder sea, and the south, and the Plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar.”‡ But as the earthly Canaan faded from his view, the heavenly Canaan, with brighter skies and better soil and nobler rivers and loftier mountains, greeted him from afar. Jehovah laid him gently down in the sleep of death, and buried him out of sight and

* *Narrative of the United States Expedition*, etc., pp. 261, 262.

† Numb. 20:12; 27:14; Deut. 1:37; 3:26, 27.

‡ Deut. 34:1-6.

out of the reach of idolatry, near the land of promise, on the border of the wilderness which is his battlefield and his monument. There, "in a valley of the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor," his mortal remains repose, "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."* His death on earth was the beginning of his life in heaven. We must all pass the river of death, but if we die in faith, we shall enter into the rest which is reserved for the people of God.

"By Nebo's lonely mountain,
East of the Jordan's wave,
In a vale in the land of Moab,
There lies a lonely grave.
And no man knows that sepulchre,
And no man saw it e'er,
For the angels of God upturned the sod,
And laid the dead man there.

"That was the grandest funeral
That ever passed on earth;
But no man heard the trampling,
Or saw the train go forth:
Noiselessly as the daylight
Comes back when night is done,
And the crimson streak on ocean's cheek
Grows into the great sun.

* * * * *

* The Mohammedan tradition, which locates the grave of Moses between the Dead Sea and Mar Sâba, is in plain contradiction to the Scripture account of this providential concealment of his tomb. It is marked by the Mosque of Neby Mûsa, and is a great resort of Moslem pilgrims at the Easter season. I saw a vast picturesque procession passing through St. Stephen's gate in Jerusalem to the valley of the Kedron and the tomb of the prophet Mûsa.

"This was the truest warrior
That ever buckled sword,
This the most gifted poet
That ever breathed a word.
And never earth's philosopher
Traced with his golden pen,
On the deathless page, truths half so sage
As he wrote down for men.

"And had he not high honor?
The hillside for a pall,
To lie in state while angels wait,
With stars for tapers tall,
And the dark rock-pines, like tossing plumes,
Over his bier to wave,
And God's own hand, in that lonely land,
To lay him in the grave?

"In that strange grave without a name,
Whence his uncoffined clay
Shall break again—O wondrous thought!—
Before the judgment-day,
And stand with glory wrapt around
On the hills he never trod,
And speak of the strife that won our life
With the incarnate Son of God.

"O lonely grave in Moab's land!
O dark Beth-Peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.
God has his mysteries of grace,
Ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the hidden sleep
Of him He loved so well."

MRS. C. F. ALEXANDER.

In riding from the Jordan over the once rich and most fertile plain of JERICHO we nearly fell among robbers, like the man in the parable of the good Samaritan;



RUINED FOUNTAIN AT JERICHO.

there was a fight going on between the roaming Bedawin and the peasants, two of whom were killed, but we safely escaped.

ANCIENT JERICHO was once "the city of palm-trees," a stronghold of ancient Canaan, so famous in the conquest of Joshua, then again in the history of Elijah and Elisha. It was the winter residence of Herod, who died there. In this city Christ brought salvation to the house of Zacchæus and restored sight to blind Bartimæus. It has long since disappeared, and a few mounds of ruins only mark its former site. The beautiful gardens of balsam which Antony gave to Cleopatra, and which Herod bought, are no more. One solitary relic of the magnificent palm-forest was still standing in 1838, but down on the Dead Sea petrified palm-trunks, preserved by the salt, may be seen floating as dead memorials of the past.

MODERN JERICHO ("Riha" or "Eriha"), some distance from the ruins of the old city, is a squalid Arab village. A half-ruined tower, occupied by a Turkish garrison, is pointed out as the house of Zacchæus. We took supper and lodged in the inn of a Greek Christian, who speaks a little English and keeps a fruitful, irrigated garden ; but we regretted that we had not slept in the tent, where we might have been less disturbed by vermin.

About thirty minutes from the place is ELISHA'S FOUNTAIN, which the prophet healed with salt.* The Arabs call it "Ain-es-Sultan," the Sultan's Spring.

From there we pass the next day by the traditional Mount of Temptation, called, in commemoration of the

* 2 Kings 2 : 19-22.

Forty Days' Fast, QUARANTANIA by the Crusaders, "Karantel" by the Arabs. Some Abyssinian hermits inhabit the caverns in the white rocks and drag out a dull and stupid existence. The Evangelists give us no clew to the locality of that mysterious, threefold conflict with Satan. Christ may, like Moses and Elijah, have gone to the Sinaitic wilderness after his baptism in the Jordan. But Quarantania is sufficiently dreary, desolate, and wild for the event. The second Adam had to stand a trial and probation in the wilderness for the whole race, as the first Adam did in the garden of innocence, but with opposite effect, coming out as a conqueror over the prince of darkness, and restoring righteousness and life.

After a rough ride of five or six hours we arrive at BETHEL (*i. e.*, House of God), now called "Beitin." It is nearly the same distance north of Jerusalem, by way of Anathoth (Jeremiah's birthplace), Geba, and Michmash. It consists of about two dozen Moslem hovels, the ruins of a Greek church, a very large cistern, and wild rocks. But the spot is hallowed by Jacob's dream of a ladder which reached from earth to heaven. "How dreadful is this place; this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."* What the patriarch, then a homeless wanderer, saw in a vision, is now fully realized for every child of God since the incarnation, which established a constant intercourse between earth and heaven, with the angels of God ascending and descending.† We rest on a stony pillow, and sing

* Gen. 28 : 10-17.

† John 1 : 51.

“Though like the wanderer,
The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone,
Yet in my dreams I’d be
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee !”

At Bethel we joined a larger company of Cook’s “personally-conducted” tourists, and travelled with them for the remainder of our tour through Palestine, Syria, Constantinople, and Athens, and parted with sincere regret at Venice. It was a very genial and harmonious party, with sufficient variety of culture and taste to make it interesting. We had an American Congregational and two Irish Presbyterian clergymen, a student of the Free Church of Scotland, an English cavalry officer, an engineer from Brighton, a graduate from Cambridge, and two accomplished ladies from the South of England, who could ride on horseback as well as any of the gentlemen. During the greater part of the journey we met also every evening in neighboring tents, two independent parties, the one consisting of an English clergyman with his family, the other of a bishop of the Southern Methodist Church (the late Dr. E. M. Marvin of St. Louis), and two American ministers. Long shall I remember the delightful evenings we spent together in the tents, comparing notes on the experiences of the day and uniting in prayer and praise.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SAMARIA.

The District of Samaria—Its Fertility—Its History—The Samaritans and the Jews—Shiloh—Jacob's Well—Mount Gerizim and the Paschal Sacrifice—Nabulus—The Samaritan Pentateuch—The Ruins of the City of Samaria—The Church and Tomb of John the Baptist—Dothan and Joseph—The Plain of Esdraelon, Israel's Battlefield—Ahab and Jezebel—Shunem and the Shunamite.

SAMARIA, the central district of Palestine, presents, with its abundance of fresh fountains and rills, green pastures and grain-fields, a favorable contrast to the rocky and barren soil of Judæa. It was the portion of the land assigned to Jacob's best and most beloved son, and his children Ephraim and Manasseh. "Joseph is a fruitful bough," prophesied the patriarch on his death-bed, "even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall."* "Blessed of the Lord," said Moses of Joseph, "be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun."† While the strength of Judah is characterized by the lion of the desert, the strength of Ephraim and the sister tribe of Manasseh is typified by the bullock and buffalo‡ of the pasture and forest.

* Gen. 49: 22-26.

† Deut. 33: 13-17.

‡ In the English Version "the unicorn," Deut. 33: 17.

Samaria appears first in the history of the patriarchs. Abraham, after leaving his home and kindred in Chaldæa by divine command, and crossing the Jordan, pitched his tent and built the first altar to Jehovah at Shechem before he journeyed southward to Bethel and Hebron.* And when Jacob returned from the east with his two bands, he bought, with prudent foresight, from the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, "a parcel of a field where he had spread his tent, for a hundred pieces of money."† Here he sunk, according to tradition,‡ his famous well, which Jesus transformed into a type of living water, and which remains to this day. He was naturally unwilling to use the neighboring fountains still in the possession of the hostile and depraved Canaanites. Here Joseph spent the days of his youth, and here, in the parcel of ground his father had purchased, his embalmed remains, which the children of Israel had brought up out of Egypt at his dying request, were buried.§ A white Mussulman chapel near the Well of Jacob still marks the tomb of Joseph, and has recently been restored by Mr. Rogers, the English consul at Damascus, in 1868. Gerizim is an older sanctuary than Jerusalem, and bears to it a similar relation as Moscow does to St. Petersburg. It has been plausibly argued by some that Mount Gerizim, and not Mount Moriah, is the place where Abraham encountered Melchizedek, the mysteri-

* Gen. 12:6, 7.

† Gen. 33:19.

‡ John 4:12.

§ Josh. 24:32; compare Gen. 50:25, 26; Exod. 13:19; Acts 7:16. The Mohammedans claim the body of Josephus in the Machpelah at Hebron, and say that it was transported from Shechem.

ous priest-king, and where he was about to offer the sacrifice of Isaac, the son of promise. Soon after the conquest, according to the command of Moses, Joshua built an altar to Jehovah on Mount Ebal, and read to the people the blessings of the law from Gerizim, and the curses from Ebal.* The two mountains are so close together that they form a natural sounding-board, and persons upon them might easily be heard from one to the other over the deep valley below, which is not more than five or six hundred yards wide. The truth of the Scripture statement has often been tested. Three of my fellow-travellers actually made the experiment, one ascending Gerizim, the other Ebal, and the third standing in the valley between, and audibly conversed with each other. At Shechem Joshua delivered his farewell address to the assembled children of Israel, and asked them to choose whom they would serve, declaring for himself, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."† At Shiloh he set up the tabernacle and the ark, which remained there during the stormy period of the Judges till the death of Eli.‡

Thus Gerizim became a second Sinai, and Shiloh a national sanctuary. The Samaritans in their controversies with the Jews utilized these facts in support of their schism, just as the Mohammedans claim the benefit of the patriarchal and Mosaic traditions.

* Josh. 8: 30-35; comp. Deut. 11: 29; 27: 11-13. There is no good reason to assume, with Jerome, that two other mountains of that name near Jericho were meant in these passages.

† Josh. 24: 1, 15, 25.

‡ Josh. 18: 1; 19: 51, etc.

But David and Solomon made Jerusalem the political and religious centre of the holy land. When the kingdom was divided under Rehoboam, Samaria became the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. After the Captivity the two kingdoms were united again for a brief period under Herod the Great.

In the New Testament Samaria is subordinate to Judæa and Galilee. Since the exile a mixed race with a mixed creed had taken the place of the Ephraimites; the descendants of Joseph and Rachel who had remained or who returned from exile, intermarried with Greek and Syrian colonists. Henceforward the Samaritans were hated and abhorred as semi-heathen heretics and schismatics by the Jews of pure blood, and they hated them in turn. Christ broke through the national prejudice, held up a despised Samaritan as an example of true charity, revealed to a poor Samaritan woman of quick wit and light heart, the nature of spiritual and universal worship; and in view of the ripening grain around Jacob's Well he predicted a large harvest of converts, which was reaped by the apostles.* But it was in Samaria also that Simon Magus, the patriarch of Christian heretics, arose and substituted a chaos of Jewish, pagan, and Christian notions and practices for the pure gospel of Christ.†

Let us now briefly sketch the places in Samaria which we visited.

First we come to the few ruins of SHILOH (now called

* Luke 10:33; John 4:7, seq.; Acts 8:5, seq.

† Acts 8:9, seq.

"Seilûn") by turning a little to the right of the road from Bethel to Shechem. It is often mentioned in the Old Testament, but nowhere in the New. It lies on a slight eminence, and seems to have been selected for the seat of the national sanctuary on account of its central situation and seclusion. The place is not worth the half hour's detour except for its former significance, which it lost after the capture of the ark of the covenant by the Philistines and the death of Eli and his sons, when his daughter-in-law exclaimed, "The glory is departed from Israel : for the ark of God is taken."*

Far more interesting, for its New Testament associations, is the next place of historic importance, JACOB'S WELL. Here our Saviour sat weary from travelling, hungry and thirsty for the salvation of souls.

"Quærens me *sedisti lassus*,
Redemisti, *crucem passus* :
Tantus labor non sit *cassus*."

Here he delivered that marvellous discourse with the Samaritan woman, which no thoughtful traveller will omit to read and to ponder on the spot. The patriarchal memories are absorbed in the memories of Him who is greater than "our father Jacob," and who is himself and alone the never-failing fountain of life eternal. There is no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the well.† Jews,

* 1 Sam. 4 : 3-22.

† The objection repeated in Bâdeker's *Handbook* (p. 328), that a woman of Shechem (Nâbulus), where water is abundant, had no need to come so far to draw water, is frivolous; for she may have lived in the vicinity; and, if not, the very fact of its being Jacob's Well was sufficient for a superstitious woman to bring her twice the distance. "Of all the

Samaritans, Mohammedans, and Christians are here agreed. The tradition is supported by the landscape, which is a living illustration of the narrative of John. The well is a natural resting-place on the highroad from Jerusalem to Galilee, over which Christ travelled, in the grain-field which Jacob bought, and which was then, as now, whitening to the harvest, near Joseph's tomb and the town of Shechem, and in full view of Mount Gerizim, to which the woman pointed as the true place of worship, as the Samaritans of the present day still do. The well is sunk in the living rock, 75 feet deep, but covered with rubbish and surrounded by the ruins of a Christian church, which is mentioned by Jerome, and was destroyed during the Crusades. The Palestine Exploration Fund has recently been furnished with money to restore the Well and to make it comfortably accessible alike to Protestants, Greeks, and Roman Catholics.

Jacob's Well is only half an hour's distance from Nâbulus, but before we enter the city we ascend without difficulty the top of GERIZIM, the Mount of Blessing, the Samaritan rival of Mount Moriah. It rises, like its neighbor Ebal, in steep, rocky precipices, directly from the narrow valley, 2,700 feet above the Mediterranean, and about 800 above Nâbulus. Ebal is a little higher. Both are naked and sterile, but Gerizim has a "small ravine which is full of fountains, fruit-trees, and verdure."* Both command a fine view over the fertile and

special localities of our Lord's life in Palestine," says Stanley, "this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed."

* Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 37.

well-cultivated valley and plain below, the mountains of Gilead in the east, Mount Carmel in the west, and the snow-capped Hermon in the north. The summit of Gerizim is a large plateau, and is the most sacred spot of the Samaritan sect. There the law of Moses was proclaimed a second time, and there the Samaritan temple was built, about B. C. 330, in which an apostate Jewish priest was made high-priest.* It was destroyed in the reign of Justinian, about A. D. 529, who built there a fortress and a Christian church. The massive ruins still remain. On that summit the Samaritans always put off their shoes, towards it they always turn their faces in prayer, and to it they come three times a year in solemn procession to celebrate the great Jewish festivals—the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. It is the only spot on earth where the Jewish paschal sacrifice is perpetuated in the primitive fashion prescribed in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. Tents are erected around a circular pit, where the fire is kindled; five or six lambs without blemish are killed, roasted, and eaten in haste, with the fingers; the bones are then burnt.†

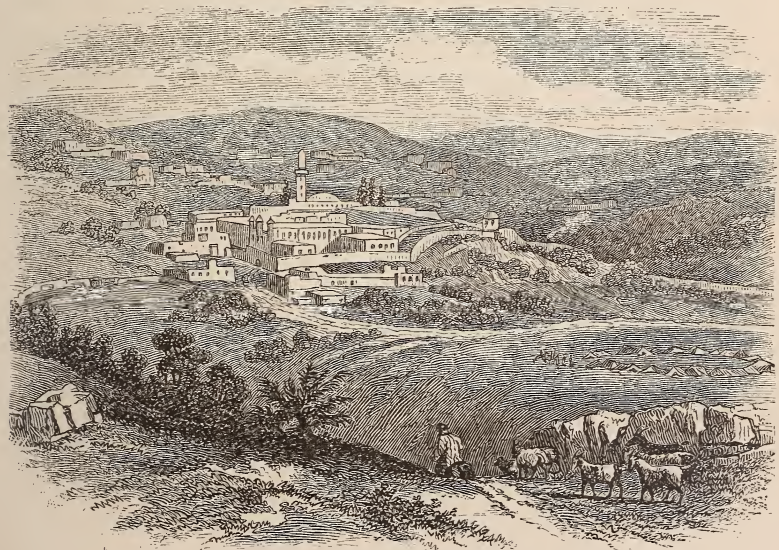
NÂBULUS or Nablous (a corruption of Neapolis or Flavia Neapolis, so called to commemorate its restoration

* Josephus, *Antiq.*, XI. 7, 2; comp. Nehem. 13:28; Robinson, *Researches*, III., p. 117.

† For a full description of this unique festival from personal observation, see Mills' *Nablous and the Modern Samaritans*, London, 1864. It is quoted by Dr. Norman Macleod in *Eastward*, and in Cook's *Palestine and Syria*, pp. 257–261. Dean Stanley also witnessed the ceremony on his visit with the Prince of Wales, and points out the striking resemblance to the Mosaic prescription.



SHECHEM AND MT. GERIZIM : FROM THE NORTHWEST



MODERN NAZARETH : FROM THE EAST.

by Flavius Vespasianus) occupies the place of ancient Shechem, the capital of Jeroboam. It is the birthplace of Justin Martyr, the first Christian philosopher. It lies between the mountains of Gerizim and Èbal, in a small but exceedingly fertile valley, enlivened by fresh fountains and rills, carpeted with green verdure, olive-groves, and gardens, and musical with birds. Stanley calls it "the most beautiful, perhaps the only very beautiful, spot in central Palestine." But the inside of the town, as usual in the East, is by no means attractive, though curious and interesting. The chief building is the great mosque, once a church of the Crusaders, dedicated to St. John. The town numbers from 13,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, including about 600 Christians, mostly of the Greek Church, 140 Samaritans, and 100 Jews, the rest are Moslems.* There is a Protestant Baptist missionary in the place, El Cary, a native of Nâbulus, but educated in England, and a German catechist, Mr. Falscher, who keeps an Arabic school in connection with the Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem. The Samaritans occupy a separate quarter of the city, and have a small, whitewashed synagogue, to which Mr. Falscher kindly conducted me through a labyrinth of streets. The high-priest, a very handsome man, in the prime of life, brought from behind the veil and showed us for baksheesh the famous Samaritan Pentateuch, the somewhat defaced original as well as a fine copy. There seem to be several copies extant. Professor Peterson procured one. The Codex is written in Samaritan characters on rolls of parchment, and wrap-

* These statistics were gathered on the spot, but vary much in books.

ped in a scarf of crimson satin. Though not the work of a grandson of Aaron, as they claim, it is undoubtedly very old, and one of the greatest bibliographical curiosities. It has been minutely described by travellers and discussed by Biblical scholars, especially in its relation to the Hebrew text.* The Pentateuch is the Bible of the Samaritans, who are monotheists and believers in the future advent of the Messiah, but reject the later books of the Old Testament. They are a remarkable example of the amazing tenacity of Eastern tradition. They are the smallest and oldest sect, consisting of about forty families, and perpetuating a schism of more than two thousand years. But, after all, they illustrate only on a small scale and in a single spot, what the Jews do in all lands—the burning bush which is not consumed.

The ruins of SAMARIA or SEBASTE (Sebastiyeh) are two hours' ride (eight miles) from Nâbulus. The path leads over the most cultivated valley in Palestine. The modern Moslem village Sebastiyeh is on the slope of a hill. The ancient city was beautifully located on the top of a round hill, surrounded by a picturesque amphitheatre of hills and fertile valleys, but it had no sacred traditions to rest on. The bad King Omri built Samaria for his pleasure as a second capital of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes,† a sort of Versailles or Potsdam. His worse son Ahab made it the headquarters of idolatry by building an altar for Baal (the chief deity of his wife Jezebel, a daughter of the king of Sidon), and "did more to

* See a series of articles on the Samaritan Pentateuch by Pick in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1877 and 1878.

† 1 Kings 16: 24.

provoke the Lord God of Israel than all the kings of Israel that were before him.”* This apostasy called forth the rebuke of the prophet Elijah, and his famous sacrifice and defeat of the four hundred and fifty priests of Baal on Mount Carmel.† Hosea and Micah prophesied that “Samaria shall become desolate as a heap of the field.”‡ Isaiah pronounced “Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine.”§ Soon afterwards the city was taken and destroyed, after a siege of three years, by the Assyrians, B. C. 722,|| and again by Hyrcanus. But it was rebuilt under the Maccabees. Herod the Great fortified and beautified it under the Greek name Sebaste, in honor of his master, the emperor Augustus. He built a temple of Augustus and a magnificent double colonnade around the topmost terrace of the hill. About a hundred decapitated and broken or half-buried pillars still remain.

Philip the evangelist preached the gospel with great success in Samaria.¶ It became afterwards an Episcopal see, and in the twelfth century the Crusaders built below the hill a large Gothic church of St. John the Baptist, who, according to a tradition dating from the fourth century, was beheaded and buried here.** It is now a picturesque ruin, and used as a mosque. John’s prison and tomb are shown in a crypt much older than the church.

* 1 Kings 16 : 32, 33. † 1 Kings 18 : 20, seq. ‡ Hos. 13 : 16; Mic. 1 : 6.

§ Isa. 28 : 1. || 2 Kings 18 : 10, 11. ¶ Acts 8 : 5-8.

** Josephus (*Antiquities*, XVIII. 5, 2) and Eusebius locate the prison and martyrdom of John in the castle of Machærus, east of the Dead Sea.

About twelve miles north of Samaria, and west of the road to Galilee, is *DOTHAN*, still bearing the ancient name, on a rich but uninhabited pasture-ground, which recalls the first chapter in the romantic history of Joseph, so full of striking providential surprises and over-rulings, beginning in slavery and exile, and ending with the rulership over Egypt, as a reward for unspotted purity of character in the midst of temptation and corruption.* Joseph and Daniel, two shining lights of truth and piety in heathen darkness, who can measure the influence of their example upon young men!

At Jenîn (the ancient Levitical city Engannim)† the second camping station on the northern journey from Jerusalem, we enter the celebrated plain of *ESDRAELON*, or *Jezreël*, also called the Plain of Megiddo, the inheritance of Issachar, whom Jacob described as “a strong ass, crouching down between two burdens.” It is an irregular triangle, and, next to the Plain of Sharon, the most fertile district of Palestine, looking in spring like a green velvet carpet, but almost uninhabited, sadly neglected, and exposed to the ravages of the wild Bedawin, who from time to time make raids, pitch their black tents, kill the peasants, plunder the crops, and then ride back with their booty on camels and horses to their lairs in the Hauran. They are as bad as a swarm of locusts, and the Turkish government is powerless. Esdraelon is

* Gen. 37 : 17 : “And Joseph went after his brethren and found them in Dothan.” Dothan or Dothain means the two wells. The prophet Elisha resided there for a while, and was providentially delivered from the hands of the Syrians. 2 Kings 6 : 8-23.

† Josh. 19 : 21 ; 21 : 29.

the classic soil of battles, where Barak and Gideon triumphed ; where Deborah sung her stirring war-song ;* where (on the neighboring Mount Gilboa) Saul and Jonathan fell, and called forth the lament of David, as remarkable for its sentiments of generosity and friendship as for its poetic beauty ;† where good King Josiah, exposing himself in his chariot, was mortally wounded by the Egyptian archers.‡ These reminiscences furnished the author of the Apocalypse the mystic name for the final battlefield “on the great day of God Almighty.”§ In the battle of Mount Tabor, Napoleon with 3,000 Frenchmen gained a fruitless victory over 30,000 Turks.

The miserable hamlet Zerín, on a low spur which projects westward from Gilboa, about seven miles north of Jenín, represents the ancient JEZREEL, the capital of Ahab and Jezebel, and the scene of a series of bloody crimes and tragedies, in fearful punishment of their idolatry and wickedness, rebuked by the stern prophet Elijah.||

At SHUNEM (Sulem), a village surrounded by gardens with cactus hedges and by rich grain fields, about five miles farther north, we remember the story of the Shunamite and her son, whom Elisha raised from the dead.¶ But we look in vain for the good woman and the prophet's chamber, and for the fair Shulamite of the Canticles, and ride on to Nain and Nazareth.

* Judg. chaps. 4-7. † 1 Sam. 31 : 2, seq. ; 2 Sam. 1 : 17, seq.

‡ 2 Chron. 35 : 20-25. See the graphic description of these battles by Stanley in Chap. IX.

§ “Armageddon,” the city or mountain of Megiddo. Rev. 16 : 14-16 ; 19 : 19. ¶ 1 Kings 21 and 22. ¶ 2 Kings 4 : 8-37.

CHAPTER XXXII.

NAZARETH.

Importance of Nazareth—The Education of our Lord—Approach to the Town—A Question of Skepticism and the Answer of Faith—Ancient and Modern Nazareth—The Beautiful View—The Women of Nazareth—The Virgin's Fountain—The Population—The Traditional Sights—A Female Orphanage—Mathilda Dickson—The Protestant Mission Church—Rev. Messrs. Zeller and Bellamy and Mr. Huber—A Christian Hospital—Dr. Vartan.

APRIL 15.

HERE we are in this retired mountain village where the Saviour of mankind spent the greater part of his life on earth ! In Bethlehem we feel the joy of his birth, in Jerusalem the awe and anguish of his crucifixion, but also the glory of his resurrection ; in Nazareth we look at the humble abode of his youth and early manhood. Talent and character are matured in quiet seclusion for the great battle of public life.

Nazareth is not even named in the Old Testament, except by an indirect allusion of prophecy,* but "Jesus of Nazareth" has made it a household word. Here he grew up in the obscurity of a carpenter-shop, with no other means of education than the Hebrew Scriptures, which in prophecy and type foretold his own character and mission, and the book of nature which, from the summit of the hill, spread before his eyes the fertile plain of

* Matt. 2 : 23.

Jezreel in the south, the mountains of Tabor and Gilboa in the east, the lofty Hermon in the north, and Carmel with the shores of the Mediterranean sea in the west—that future highway of the gospel of peace to all mankind. The beautiful surroundings, laden with the memories of David and Jonathan, Elijah and Elisha, and many a battle of Israel, afforded educational advantages even to Him who, like other men, “grew and waxed strong in spirit” and “increased in wisdom and stature.” Yet they can in no way explain the astounding result. He was neither school-taught nor self-taught nor inspired for a season like the prophets; he came directly from God, and taught the world as one who owed nothing to its books, its schools, its history, its society, its favor; he was the Light of the world and the Truth itself. Explain it as you may, the astounding fact is there. Jesus of Nazareth is the central miracle of history.

A journey of three days brings us from Jerusalem to Nazareth, after spending the first night at the Robbers' Fountain, the second at Jenîn. Coming from the ruins of Nain, where Christ raised the only son of a widow from death to life, and in full view of Tabor, the traditional Mount of Transfiguration, we ride swiftly over the Plain of Esdraelon—the historic battlefield of Israel—and slowly ascend the rocks and hills to EN-NASIRAH. We cannot see it till we are quite near. It is not perched on the hill-top, like Bethlehem and the cities of Judah and Benjamin, but in a basin on a steep slope of the hill to which it clings like an amphitheatre. Its modest retirement may account for its proverbial obscurity. We en-

camp a little distance east of the town, close by "the Virgin's Fountain," from which Christ and his mother must have drawn their daily supply of water, as the people do now; for there is no other fountain within convenient reach. It is the only certain relic of the days of Jesus in this home of his youth.*

As we walk through the narrow, crooked, and dirty streets of the town, passing now a dead dog in a putrescent state, now an immense dung-heap which has been allowed to accumulate for years to spread disease, and as we look into the houses or holes where men, camels, and donkeys live together on terms of equality, we are tempted to ask, Is it possible that the eternal Son of God, through whom the worlds were made, should have spent thirty years, all his boyhood, youth, and early manhood in such a place and amid such surroundings, among brethren who did not believe in him,† and neighbors who attempted to cast him down headlong from the brow of the hill for preaching the acceptable year of the Lord?‡ Reason doubts, but faith adores the amazing condescension of God. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" was Nathanael's question when he first heard from Philip of the son of Joseph. But when he

* The fountain is also called "Ain Mariam," "Fons Mariæ," "Gabriel's Spring," "the Fountain of the Annunciation." It is not mentioned in the New Testament, but in the apocryphal Gospel of St. James, and the tradition is supported by inherent probability. "*Es kann nicht zweifelhaft sein,*" says Tobler (*Nazareth*, p. 214), "*dass Maria und Jesus zu diesem Brunnen gingen und aus diesem Brunnen tranken.*" Tobler's *Nazareth* (Berlin, 1868, 344 pages), with a topographical map by Kev. J. Zeller, gives the fullest and most accurate description of the town.

† John 7:5.

‡ Luke 4:29.

came and saw with his own eyes, he exclaimed, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." The title "Nazarene" was applied to Christ and his followers in derision and contempt, but it is significant of that humiliation and outward lowliness which is at all times the way to exaltation and glory. *Via crucis via lucis.*

The town as well as the whole country was in a more prosperous condition at the time of Christ, although the people were no better, perhaps worse, than now. The despotic and stupid Turkish government discourages every form of industry, and taxes every fruit-tree whether it bears or not. Many farmers cut down their trees to escape taxation, except the indispensable olive and fig. A few years ago the neighboring Mount Tabor was covered with oaks, but now it is almost bare on the southern slope.

But some fine buildings have recently been put up by foreigners, and compared with other towns of this unhappy and down-trodden land of Palestine, Nazareth improves upon acquaintance. It is better built, has more decent houses, and shows more industry and thrift than any of the miserable villages I have passed through since I left Jerusalem, with the exception of Nâbulus. It is the chief commercial town of Galilee and the mart of exchange between the merchants of Acre and Haifa, and the Bedawin. Viewed from the top of the hill, to which in all probability it formerly extended, it presents a pleasing appearance, while the view from that hill is one of the most extensive and charming I have seen in the East,

Lieutenant Lynch preferred Nazareth even to Bethlehem, and calls it "the prettiest place in Palestine." Renan, in his "Life of Jesus," says that no place in the world was so well adapted to "dreams of absolute happiness."

The Christian women of Nazareth are more beautiful in person, more cleanly in attire, and more courteous in manner than any in Palestine, with the exception of their sisters in Bethlehem, where nearly the whole population is Christian. They certainly contrast favorably with the ignorance and degradation of women in purely Mohammedan villages. Catholics trace the exceptional superiority of the women of these two places to the influence of the Virgin Mary, who is to them the perfection of physical as well as moral beauty and grace. But we prefer to go to the primary source of the Christian religion which everywhere develops true womanhood. The Nazarene females wear around their forehead and face a roll of silver coins (called "semedi"), to which our Saviour alludes in the parable of the lost piece of silver.* They walk the streets unveiled and mostly barefooted, and gather every morning and evening around the marble trough of the "Virgin's Fountain," gossiping and quarrelling, and filling their large water-jars, which they carry gracefully on their heads. I was touched by a beautiful little girl that took me by the hand and imploringly looked up to me as if she had lost her father or mother.

The fountain is fed by waters from the hills, and

* Luke 15:8. The ten pieces of silver here spoken of are drachmæ, worth 17 cents each, though relatively worth ten times as much then.

never fails. It is in a better condition than the fountains of Jerusalem and Jacob's Well; yet the ground before the fountain is very muddy, and even the muddy water is used. It marks the spot where the angel, according to the Greek tradition, first appeared to the Virgin mother with his astounding message. The Greek Church of the Annunciation stands near the fountain, but is closed, and looks rude and gloomy as compared with its Franciscan rival in the town.

The population of Nazareth is variously estimated from 4,000 to 10,000. A well-informed resident fixes the number at 8,000. The Orthodox Greeks are the most numerous; next come the Moslems, then the Latins, United Greeks, Maronites, and Protestants. The Latins have a fine convent and hospice, the Casa Nuova Foresteria, where one may lodge at ten francs a day. The Protestants number not more than one hundred, but represent the hope of the future. I found among them some intelligent and enterprising members of the Hoffman colony of Haifa at the foot of Mount Carmel.

The traditional sights of Nazareth, besides the Virgin's Fountain already described, are the two Churches of the Annunciation (one Latin and one Greek),* the Kitchen of the Virgin Mary (her house was transferred by angels to Loretto centuries ago!), the suspended column (above the spot where Mary received the angel's mes-

* On the marble altar of the crypt below the Latin Church of the Annunciation is the inscription: "*Hic Verbum caro factum est,*" the pendant to the inscription beneath the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem: "*Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est.*"

sage), the Workshop of Joseph and Jesus, the stone Table at which Christ often dined with his disciples before and after the resurrection, the Synagogue in which he taught, and the Rock or Mount of Precipitation from which the Nazarenes attempted to cast him down. These traditions are utterly worthless, the creatures of superstition and pious fraud. The rival claims of the Latins and the Greeks to the possession of the spot of the Annunciation neutralize each other, not to speak of the Casa Santa at Loretto, which in no way fits into the locality of her alleged home in Nazareth. In no place are local traditions of holy places so palpably wrong and irreconcilable. "At Nazareth," says Stanley, "there are three counter-theories—each irreconcilable with the other—in relation to the special scene which has been selected for peculiar reverence." He then enters into an examination of that most incredible of legends, the miraculous removal of Mary's house by angels through the air, first to Greece and then to Italy, and shows that its architecture contradicts that of the local tradition. He calls that legend (which is first mentioned in a bull of Leo X., 1518) the petrification of the last sigh of the Crusaders.*

The traditional Mount of Precipitation is two miles off from the town, and cannot be the brow of the hill "on which the city was built." The steep rock behind the Maronite church would have answered the purpose

* See his plans of the House of Loretto and the Grotto of Nazareth in the new edition of *Sinai and Palestine*, London, 1868, p. 436. The plans were drawn from actual measurement by a Roman-catholic priest of the Oratory, the late W. H. Hutchison.

much better, and agrees with the description of Luke (chap. 4 : 29). I examined the spot with Mr. Huber, the resident German missionary, and came to the conclusion that this is in all probability the real rock of precipitation.

But let me now turn to the signs of a better future, which most travellers pass by. As I approached Nazareth, my attention was arrested by an imposing white building situated below the brow of the hill, and commanding the whole town. I did not fail to visit it, and learned that it was an orphanage, established in 1874 by the English "Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education in the East." It is the handsomest building of the kind in all Palestine, and is kept as neat and clean as any schoolhouse in Europe or America. The principal, Miss Mathilda Dickson, with whom I had a long and interesting conversation, is a highly-accomplished and devoted lady, and reminded me, by her zeal for mission work and the elevation of the female sex, of the late Mrs. Doremus, whose praise is in all the churches, and whose memory will never fade. The orphanage has thirty-four boarders (mostly of Greek, some of Protestant, a few of Mohammedan parentage), who are here washed and dressed, and taught the elements of domestic and social education, Bible history, and Christian hymns. It is hoped that their influence will tell upon their future husbands and children, and indirectly prepare the way for evangelical Christianity. It must be confessed, however, that the work is very difficult; for girls in the East are married very young, that is, they are bought and sold

into a state of slavery. The institution owns the hill, from which the finest view is enjoyed. It is undenominational, but works in connection with the Episcopal Church, the only Protestant church in Nazareth. One of its good effects is that it has stimulated the zeal of the Greek bishop, who started a rival school for girls in 1876.

The Protestant church is a beautiful building in the heart of the town. It was founded by the English Church Missionary Society, and stands in connection with the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem. The gospel is preached here in Arabic to about sixty hearers, and a large number of children are taught in the Sabbath-school. The first minister was Rev. J. Zeller, whose wife—a daughter of Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem—wrote a charming book on the flowers of Palestine. He was followed by the Rev. Franklin Bellamy (formerly of the Royal English Navy), an accomplished and liberal clergyman. He invited me to preach ; and when I told him that I was not an Episcopalian, he said that it made no difference, as the canons did not apply to missionary stations. He is assisted by a catechist, Mr. Jacob Huber, who was educated in the Mission House at Basle, and has labored here many years most faithfully. I found him an intelligent, experienced, and obliging gentleman. He spoke in high terms of the Presbyterian Mission in Beirût, to which the Episcopal mission schools are indebted for Christian literature in the Arabic language.

Finally, I must mention a Christian hospital which was founded by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (undenominational, but chiefly Presbyterian). It

is very ably and successfully managed by Dr. Vatian, an Armenian educated in Scotland. His medical skill is a great aid to the Protestant Mission.

“O Thou great Friend to all the sons of men,
Who once appeared in humblest guise below,
Sin to rebuke, to break the captive's chain,
And call thy brethren forth from want and woe,

“We look to Thee! Thy truth is still the Light
Which guides the nations groping on their way,
Stumbling and falling in disastrous night,
Yet hoping ever for the perfect day.

“Yes; Thou art still the Life, Thou art the Way
The holiest know; Light, Life, the Way of heaven!
And they who dearest hope and deepest pray
Toil by the Light, Life, Way, which Thou has given.”

CHAPTER XXXIII.

TABOR AND HERMON.

Mount Tabor—Its Central Situation and Beautiful Shape—The View from the Summit—Mount Hermon—Its Majesty and Grandeur—The Transfiguration—Dispute about the Locality—Arguments for Hermon—Import of the Event—Raphael's Crowning Work.

MOUNT Tabor is the Rigi, Mount Hermon the Mont Blanc, of Palestine. They are the two representative mountains of that country, the one for its gracefulness, the other for its loftiness. They are not mentioned in the New Testament, but repeatedly in the Old. They are associated together by the Psalmist when he says, "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name."* Some of the greatest events in the history of Revelation, from the legislation of Moses to the Ascension of Christ, took place on mountains. Tabor or Hermon, probably the latter, is the Mount of Transfiguration.

MOUNT TABOR† lies right in the centre of the Holy Land, about six or eight miles east of Nazareth, from which it can be reached in two hours. It is wholly of limestone. It rises isolated and alone in its glory from

* Psa. 89: 12: comp. Jer. 46: 18: "As Tabor is among the mountains, and as Carmel by the sea." Hos. 5: 1: "A net spread upon Tabor."

† *'Iraβúpion* in the Septuagint. The Arabs call it by the same name as Mount Olivet, "Jebel et-Tûr."



MOUNT TABOR.

the plain of Esdraelon to a height of 1,400 feet from the base, or 1,900 from the level of the sea. Owing to its isolation, it appears twice as large as it really is. It can easily be ascended from every side in an hour, on foot or on horseback. It would have been, according to a rabbinical saying, the best site by nature for the national sanctuary, if a special revelation had not determined the location of the temple on Mount Moriah.

Tabor has a rare symmetrical beauty of shape, and commands one of the finest views in all Palestine. It is rounded off like a hemisphere, and clothed with grass and a forest of oaks, except on the southern slope, where modern vandalism has destroyed the growth of nature. The top is a flattened platform, from which the eye can wander over some of the most classical spots on earth. It is not indeed a panorama of romantic lakes, winding rivers, flourishing towns, snow-capped Alps such as you may enjoy from Rigi-Kulm—yet a panorama lovely and beautiful, and pregnant with associations more important than Küssnacht, Grütli, Morgarten, and Goldau. Towards the west you see the hills of Nazareth, and farther on Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean; towards the north the Lake of Tiberias, the mountains of Naphtali, and the snow-peaks of Hermon; in the south the ruins of Nain and Endor, the Little Hermon, and Mount Gilboa, where Jonathan fell; in the east and beyond the Jordan, the mountains of Bashan and Gilead.

Mount HERMON is less graceful, but more imposing and sublime. It is called "*Jebel esh-Sheikh*" by the Arabs, *i. e.*, the chief mountain. It rises on the northern

extremity of Galilee to a height of 10,000 feet above the Mediterranean, and presents three lofty peaks. It is covered with eternal snow, which gives it a glistening appearance. It can be seen from every direction far and wide, from Gerizim and Tabor in the south, from Damascus in the east, from the northern heights of the Antilebanon and Lebanon, and from the plains of Cœlesyria. Moses saw it from the top of Pisgah in Moab, when "the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan." At its southern base lies Baniyas or Cæsarea Philippi, one of the most romantic spots in Palestine. Here the river Jordan gushes out from the rocks. Here, on the boundary line between the Jews and the Gentiles, our Saviour spent several days before he entered on his last journey to Jerusalem. Here he elicited from Peter that famous confession, from which, as from a spiritual rock, have sprung the Christian confessions and creeds of subsequent ages. Here he prophesied the founding of his indestructible Church, his passion and resurrection.

Tabor and Hermon are the two claimants for the honor of being the MOUNT OF TRANSFIGURATION, or "the holy mount," as Peter calls it.* It was certainly "a *high* mountain," according to the Evangelists, and the choice lies between these two. Both are in themselves equally well fitted for the event, Tabor rather than Hermon, on account of its central location in Palestine, only a few miles from Nazareth and the Lake of Gennesaret,

* Matt. 17:1-13; Mark 9:2-13; Luke 9:28-36; comp. 2 Peter 1:16-18.

where our Saviour spent the greater part of his life on earth.

Tabor has in its favor the monastic tradition, which goes back to St. Jerome in the fourth century, and which gave rise to a number of buildings on the summit. There is a Latin convent; a little farther down, a Greek convent, inhabited by a few lonely monks, who offer shelter and refreshment to pilgrims and travellers. Each claims to be built on or very near the spot where the Transfiguration took place. The Latin monk, an Italian Franciscan, gave us lemonade and showed us the ruins of three churches of the Crusaders. They were to correspond to the three tents which Peter in his dreamy state, "not knowing what he said," desired to build, one for his Lord, one for Moses, and one for Elijah, being content for himself and his two fellow-disciples to watch outside. In the Greek Church the festival of the Transfiguration is called after the mountain "the Taborion."*

But two arguments are against Tabor and in favor of Hermon.

(1.) The fact that the summit of Tabor was occupied by a city of the tribe of Zebulun,† and was employed without intermission between the times of Antiochus the Great, 218 B. C., to the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, as a fortification, and hence unfit for quiet seclusion and meditation.‡

* τὸ Θαβώριον.

† 1 Chron. 6:77: "Tabor with her suburbs."

‡ See *Polybius* V. 70, 6; *Josephus, Ant.* XIV. 6, 3; *Bell. Jud.* I. 8, 7; II. 20, 6; IV. 1, 8.

(2.) More conclusive than this local objection is the succession of events and the short interval between them. The transfiguration took place "six days" after Peter's confession in Cæsarea Philippi, at the foot of Mount Hermon,* and was followed by a journey to Capernaum, and thence to Jerusalem.† This is all plain if we locate the transfiguration on Hermon; but it would have been a waste of time if Jesus should have travelled from Cæsarea Philippi to Mount Tabor, passing Capernaum on the way, and gone back from Mount Tabor to Capernaum, then to proceed again southward to Jerusalem. Moreover, "it is exceedingly improbable that Christ should so suddenly have left his retreat in the highlands of Gaulanitis, and transferred the scene of one of his most secret revelations to Galilee, where he was everywhere persecuted."‡

On Mount Hermon there are several retired platforms where Christ and his disciples might have been "apart by themselves," and met their heavenly visitors without fear of disturbance from any quarter. It is very significant that the transfiguration, as well as the preceding confession of Peter, should have occurred on this border region between the Jews and the Gentiles, as if in anticipation of the triumph of the gospel in the heathen world.

The transfiguration of Christ took place shortly be-

* μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑξ, Matt. 17 : 1; Mark 9 : 2; or more indefinitely ὥσπερ ἡμέραι ὀκτώ, Luke 9 : 28.

† Matt. 17 : 24; Mark 9 : 33.

‡ Lange on Matt. 17 : 1 (p. 306, Am. ed.). Ritter, Robinson, Stanley, and Tristram likewise decide against Tabor.

fore his passion and in anticipation of his final glorification, before the representatives of the Old Dispensation, Moses the lawgiver, and Elijah the mighty prophet, who had mysteriously disappeared from earth, and now appeared again from the spirit-world to do homage to the Fulfiller of the law and the promise, and to consign to him their expiring authority ; and before the representative apostles of the New Dispensation, Peter, James, and John, who were here fortified against the severe trial of their faith at the approaching crucifixion. It was a visible manifestation and effulgence of the hidden glory of Christ's person, accompanied by an audible voice from heaven declaring him, as on the day of baptism, the Son of God, on whom the Father had fixed his delight. It was a sure pledge of his own exaltation and of the future glory of his people, when our mortal bodies shall put on immortality and see him as he is. It furnishes a striking proof of the immortality of the soul, the intercommunion between heaven and earth, and the harmony of the two Dispensations, which meet in the divine-human person and atoning work of Christ. After the scene the disciples saw no one but Jesus alone. Moses and Elijah disappeared again, the types and shadows departed, the substance remained : Christ all in all.

Every one knows the picture of the Transfiguration in the Vatican, which represents the Saviour soaring above the earth and floating in glory, Moses and Elijah bowing in adoration before him, the disciples overpowered by the dazzling light, and below, in startling contrast to this scene of celestial peace, the misery of the

lunatic whose healing follows in the gospel narrative. It is one of the sublimest conceptions of human genius, and yet but an imperfect reflection of the reality. It was the last work of Raphael, and accompanied his coffin to the grave in the Pantheon. He died of the transfiguration, in the prime of manhood ; but his picture, multiplied in ten thousand copies all over the earth, will continue to preach to admiring beholders the best sermon on this supernatural event.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LAKE OF GALILEE.

Biblical Associations—The Scene of our Lord's Teaching and Miracles—Ride from Nazareth to the Lake of Galilee—The Horns of Hattin, the Mount of Beatitudes—The disastrous Battle of the Crusaders and the Loss of Palestine—The City of Tiberias—Magdala—The Lake of Galilee in the First and in the Nineteenth Century—Description of Josephus—Present Condition.

NEXT to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, no part of Palestine has greater interest to the reader of the Bible than THE SEA OF GALILEE, or, as it is now called, "Bahr Tūbarîyeh."* In that region of country our Saviour spent a great part of his public life. There he called Simon Peter and Andrew, James and John, to follow him and to become fishers of men. There he proclaimed from the Mount of Beatitudes the Magna Charta of his heavenly kingdom—the counterpart of the Mosaic legislation from the mount of terror that "burned with fire." There he spoke, from the ship on the seashore, most of those incomparable parables of the kingdom, its beginning, its outer and inner growth, its value, its conflict with the world, and its final triumph. There he wrought his miracles of power and mercy. There he made the winds

* It is also called *the Sea of Chinnereth* or *Chinneroth* (the Hebrew name for *Gennesaret*), *the Lake of Gennesaret* or *Gennesar*, *the Lake* (or *Sea*) *of Tiberias*.

and the sea obey him. There he went about teaching in the synagogues, preaching the good tidings, healing all manner of disease and sickness, and doing good to the bodies and souls of men. Capernaum was his residence after the Nazarenes had blindly rejected him. And after his resurrection he manifested himself to the disciples on the shores of the lake.

We reached Tiberias in an easy and delightful day's ride from Nazareth, crossing Mount Tabor, which ecclesiastical tradition associates with the Transfiguration, and passing the Horns of Hattin (Kürûn Hattîn), which the Latin tradition points out as the Mount of Beatitudes. It is easy of access from all sides, and has a double platform—one higher, one lower—well suited for the gathering of a smaller circle of disciples and of a large multitude, to whom the Sermon on the Mount was delivered.* But this tradition must be left in doubt, since the Evangelists do not name the mountain, and since "there are," as Dr. Robinson says, "in the vicinity of the lake perhaps a dozen other mountains which would answer just as well to the circumstances of the history." In this region the last and fatal battle of the Crusaders, called the battle of Hattin, was fought on the fourth or fifth of July, 1187, when the flower of the Christian chivalry was nearly annihilated by Sultan Saladin. It was immediately followed by the subjugation of Jerusalem and all Palestine to the yoke of the Moslems, under which they are still groaning.

* Comp. Matt. 5:1; Mark 4:7, 8; Luke 6:17; and Lange's commentaries *in loc.*

We arrived in camp before sunset, half a mile south of the city of Tiberias, and took at once a most refreshing bath in the lake, as we did twice on the day following.

TIBERIAS (Tübarîyeh), built by Herod Antipas, A. D. 20, was once a famous seat of rabbinical learning, and is still one of the two holy cities of the Jews in Galilee—Safed being the other—as Jerusalem and Hebron are their holy cities in Judæa. It is now a miserable, dirty place, inhabited by Jews and Moslems, and subject to earthquakes, in one of which (1837) half of the population perished, and the walls were thrown down. It seemed to me to be the very headquarters of Beelzebub; for as soon as we lighted our candles in the tent the table was literally covered with flies, so that we had to extinguish the lights and sit in darkness. And yet Tiberias is the most important town, in fact the only town deserving of the name, on this whole lake. This is a fair specimen of the startling contrast between the Galilee of the first and the Galilee of the nineteenth century. The only other place is MEJDEL, the ancient Magdala, in the plain of Gennesaret, containing about a dozen of wretched Moslem hovels, but recalling the memory of Mary Magdalene,

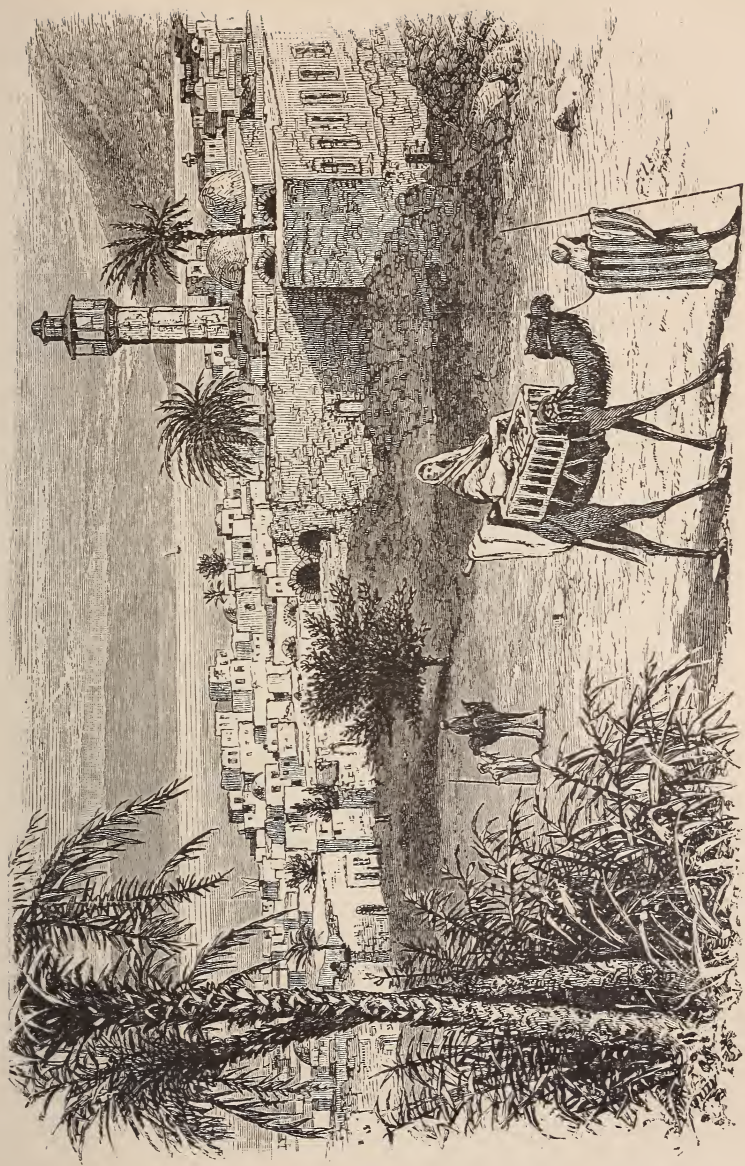
“The sweet fragrance of whose ointment
All the earth is filling now,
And whose tears are turned to jewels
For a crown upon her brow.”

During the public life of our Lord the shores of the lake were the most densely populated and the most flourishing part of Palestine; now it is the most deserted. Then nine cities teeming with life adorned the shores;

now you see nothing but Tiberias, Magdala, and a few shapeless ruins. Then the lake was covered with sails of ships passing from shore to shore ; now there are only about three rough fishing-boats to be seen.

Josephus relates a victorious naval battle which Vespasian fought on the lake against the Jews before the destruction of Jerusalem, and gives a glowing account of that country in his day. "The waters of the lake," he says in substance, "are sweet, and extremely pleasant to drink ; fish found here differ from others in flavor and species ; the surrounding country is admirable for its quality and beauty. Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant, and so genial is the climate that it suits every variety ; the walnut, which delights in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly, together with the palm-tree which is nourished by heat, and near to those are figs and olives to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits, and an amiable rivalry of the seasons, each as it were asserting its right to the soil ; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite climes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all, the grape and the fig, during ten months, without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round ; for besides being favored by the genial temperature of the air, it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring, called Capharnaum by the people of the country."*

* *Bell. Jud.* III. 10, 8.



TIBERIAS AND THE SEA OF GALILEE.

This description reads like irony when compared with the present condition. No roads, no houses, no gardens, no cultivated farms meet the eye along the shore, but wild grass, briars, and thistles in abundance.

And yet nature in its beauty is still there, notwithstanding the vandalism of men. There is the lake with its clear blue waters; there the hills in the light of the sun; there the plain of Gennesaret with its tropical fertility. The bright red magnolias grow luxuriantly among thistles and thorns, and occasionally even the fig, the olive, the pomegranate, the date-palm, the sugar-cane may still be found there. The lake district presents a beautiful picture, not indeed so grand and sublime as the lakes of Switzerland, nor so lovely and charming as the lakes of Northern Italy, but with a richer history, a warmer climate, and a better soil. It might be made an earthly paradise under a good government and with an industrious people. If it were not for the utter absence of convenience and comfort, such as every traveller from the West now looks for, one might delightfully spend weeks on those shores consecrated by the life and example of the wisest of the wise and the purest of the pure that ever trod this earth.

The lake forms a triangular oval or pear shape, with the broad end towards the north. It almost resembles a harp. It is over 12 (Bädeker says 16½) miles long, 6 miles broad, 160 feet deep. It lies 60 miles northeast of Jerusalem, and 27 miles east of the Mediterranean. It is on an average 660 (the Dead Sea is 1,292) feet *below* the Mediterranean. It abounds in fish. Its water

is slightly saline, but pure and wholesome. The Jordan enters in from the north. All the towns which supplied the names of the lake were situated on the western shore. On the northwestern shore is the plain of Gennesaret (El-Ghuweir), about three miles long and one mile broad. The surrounding hills are of limestone capped with basalt, and are small and bare. There are hot springs near Tiberias, but neglected. Earthquakes and violent storms are not infrequent. Dr. Thomson, Captain Wilson, and others witnessed sudden thunderstorms not unlike that which frightened the disciples, till the Lord rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, "Peace, be still!"

CHAPTER XXXV.

CAPERNAUM, BETHSAIDA, AND CHORAZIN.

The Prophecy of Christ on the Cities of Galilee and its Literal Fulfilment—Capernaum—Bethsaida—Chorazin—A Boat Row from Tiberias—The Plain of Gennesaret—Magdala—Gergesa and the Herd of Swine—Khan Minyeh—Et-Tabighah—Tell Hum—Kerazeh—The Capernaum Controversy.

“Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? Nay, thou shalt be brought down unto hades: for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee.”*

THIS solemn prophecy of the Son of Man has been fearfully fulfilled to the letter. Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, once flourishing towns on the western shore of the Lake of Galilee, have long since disappeared from the face of the earth, “leaving no wreck behind.” Once raised to the heaven of gospel privileges, they have

* Matt. II : 20-24. The correct reading in ver. 23 is a question anticipating a negative answer. Hades (mistranslated “hell” in our English Version) is not the place of eternal punishment, but the realm of the dead, and is used here as a figure of death and desolation, which that region presents to-day.

sunk down to the hades of oblivion. The ruins of the heathen cities of Tyre and Sidon on the shores of the Mediterranean are well known, but the site of those ancient towns of Galilee is still a matter of doubt and controversy. Yet the glorious truths and solemn warnings to which they listened with deaf ears, and the miracles of mercy which they witnessed and traced to Satanic agency, have shaken thrones and converted nations, and will be preached from ten thousand pulpits for weal or woe to the end of time.

CAPERNAUM (the town of Nahum), the most important and the most guilty of those cities (hence mentioned last in the rising climax of woe), is not mentioned in the Old Testament, but frequently in the Gospels.* It was the home of our Lord after he left Nazareth, and is therefore called "his own city."† It was the residence of Peter and his mother-in-law,‡ and probably also of Matthew, who was called from the customhouse to the apostolate, and consecrated his experience in bookkeeping to the orderly topical arrangement of the works and words of his divine Master.§ It lay on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, hence called "the maritime," and in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali.|| The town was large enough to be called a city. It had a flourishing commerce, a customhouse,¶ and a large synagogue built by that God-fearing and benevolent Roman centurion whose

* Matt. 4:13; 8:5; 11:23; 17:24; Mark 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Luke 4:23, 31; 7:1; 10:15; John 2:12; 4:46; 6:17, 24, 59.

† Matt. 4:13; 9:1 (*εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν*).

‡ Luke 4:38-41.

§ Matt. 9:9.

|| Matt. 4:13.

¶ Matt. 9:9-11.

servant Christ healed and whose rare faith he commended.* Its site is found either at Khan Minyeh at the northern end of the plain of Gennesaret, or more probably at Tell Hum.

BETHSAIDA (The House of Fish, Fishtown) was the native place of Peter, Andrew, Philip, James, and John, those illiterate fishermen who became fishers of men and the spiritual guides of nations.† It is usually distinguished as Bethsaida of Galilee from Bethsaida Julias, and then variously located at Khan Minyeh, or at Tâbighah, or at Tell Hum. But according to a recent and more probable theory, the two Bethsaidas are only the two parts of one and the same town on both banks of the Jordan near its entrance into the lake; for it is extremely improbable that two towns in so close neighborhood should have borne the same name.

CHORAZIN is only mentioned twice,‡ and must be identical with the ruins of Kerazeh.

Let us now pass up the western shore of the lake and see what is left of these places so full of precious reminiscences from the days of our childhood.

We leave Tiberias early in the morning and embark in a coarse fishing-boat. After a delightful row of an hour, we mount our horses and ride over the Land of GENNESAR, or GENNESARET,§ now called "El-Ghuweir;"

* Luke 7: 1-10.

† Matt. 9: 21; Mark 6: 4, 5; 8: 22; Luke 9: 10; 10: 13; John 1: 44; 12: 21.

‡ Matt. 11: 21; Luke 10: 13.

§ Matt. 14: 34; Mark 6: 53. *Gennesar* is probably derived from *gâni* and *sar*, and means the paradise of the prince.

that is, the Little Ghôr, or Plain. It is a triangular plain extending three miles along the shore and more than a mile back towards the hills. The southern half is well watered by several springs; the northern portion was formerly irrigated from 'Ain Tâbighah through an aqueduct now in ruins. It was once, as the name suggests, a rich garden which supplied Jerusalem with choice fruit. Though greatly neglected, it still produces excellent wheat, melons, cucumbers, olives, and figs. To this plain emphatically applies the glowing description of Josephus which we have quoted in the preceding chapter.

The only village left in the plain, at its southern end, is a cluster of wretched hovels called MEJDEL, the ancient Magdala (Migdal El, the Tower of God), and birth-place of Mary Magdalene. On the top of the huts are little sleeping-places, to which the inhabitants retire in summer to escape the scorpions, lizards, and vermin, which abound below.

Nearly opposite Mejdél, on the eastern shore of the lake, are the ruins of CHERSA, or KHERSA, on the slope of a hill in Wady Semakh, within forty feet of the water's edge. The walls can still be traced all around. This place has been recently identified* with the Biblical GERGESA, where Christ cast out the fierce demons and permitted them to enter a herd of swine; whereupon these otherwise so stubborn creatures, urged by a preternatural impulse and seized by a sudden panic, rushed down pell-mell the steep precipice and perished in the lake. The narrative of the Evangelists corresponds precisely with

* By Dr. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II. 34-38.

the nature of the locality as described by Thomson and Macgregor. Wild-hogs still abound there, ploughing the ground in search of esculent roots.*

We stretch our tent for the night at the northern end of the plain, below a cliff, near the shore and the Fountain of the Fig-tree ('Ain et Tin). The place is called KHAN MINYEH, from the ruins of a large Arab khan, or caravansary, built in the time of Saladin for the convenience of travellers to Damascus. The name Minyeh is said (by Sepp) to be derived from Minim, or Minæans, a rabbinical designation of heretics. Consequently Khan Minyeh would mean "the Inn of Heretics," and Kefr Minyeh "the Village of Heretics," *i. e.*, probably Jewish Christians who may have resided there. We carefully hunt for ruins which might justify its claim to be the site of ancient Capernaum, but can find only stones and broken pottery. Dr. Robinson accounts for the absence of ruins by the vicinity of Tiberias, to which they may have been transported by water. But Tiberias was already built when Capernaum was in its prosperity; and ruins of a large town, such as Capernaum must have been, including a synagogue and customhouse, are not so easily transported. The excavations of the English Explora-

* Matt. 8: 28-34; Mark 5: 1-17; Luke 8: 26-37. The Greek manuscripts vary between *Gadarenes*, *Gerasenes*, and *Gergesenes*. The common view locates the scene at *Gadara* (now called "Omkeis," or "Um Keis"), which was the capital of Peræa, and probably inhabited by heathen. But this lies two hours southeast of the southern end of the lake, too far to account for the simultaneous and direct rush of the herd into the lake. In this case topographical discovery may aid in determining the true reading.

tion Fund in 1866 brought nothing to light except some fragments of comparatively modern masonry and pottery. Lieut. Kitchener and Dr. Merrill claim to have seen more important remains in 1877, but we must wait for a more thorough search. In the evening we take a refreshing bath in the lake near the Fountain of the Fig-tree.

From Khan Minyeh we pass through the remains of an aqueduct cut through the cliff along the shore, and now used as a horse-path, to Et-Tâbighah, and thence to Tell-Hum and Kerazeh. Here every step is full of interest to the Biblical student.

ET-TABIGHAH is a charming little bay and a tract of land abounding in fresh streams and fountains and rank vegetation. The largest of the fountains, probably the fountain of Capharnaum mentioned by Josephus as watering the plain of Gennesaret, is half as large as the source of the Jordan at Banias, and rises with great force to the surface, at a temperature of $86\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; it is enclosed in an octagonal reservoir, and some of its water is carried off in an aqueduct to one of five mills which were built by Dhaher el Omer, a Bedawin chief and benefactor. "Connected with this fountain are the remains of some remarkable works, which at one time raised its waters to a high level and conveyed them bodily into the plain of Gennesaret for the purposes of irrigation."* Some identify Et-Tâbighah with Western Bethsaida, but it was probably the manufacturing suburb and harbor of Capernaum.

We next reach TELL HUM, *i. e.*, the Hill of Nahum. Its name and ruins form a strong double argument for its iden-

* Captain Wilson.

tity with ancient Capernaum.* It lies on elevated rocky ground half a mile west of the lake shore, about midway between Khan Minyeh and the mouth of the Jordan at its entrance into the lake. There is not even a horse-path leading to it, and we must force our way for half an hour through dense tangles of tall briars and thistles. The ruins which have been described by Dr. Robinson, and more fully from careful examination (in 1866) by Captain Wilson,† are certainly the most remarkable in that whole region, and betray the presence of a large town. They cover a tract of about half a mile long and a quarter broad, and lie in confusion beneath the surface of the soil. They consist of foundations and walls of houses, and the broken columns, Corinthian capitals, and friezes of a synagogue built of white limestone, and hence called "the white synagogue." On a large block is a pot of manna engraved in commemoration of the manna in the wilderness, which typified the true manna from heaven. If Tell Hum be Capernaum, as we are strongly inclined to believe, then this synagogue must have been the same which the good Roman centurion built,‡ and in which our Lord frequently taught, and delivered his wonderful discourse on the bread of life.§

* The Greek *Καφαρναούμ* corresponds to the Hebrew *כפר נחום*, the village of Nahum (not the village of Consolation, *χωρίον παρακλήσεως*, as Origen and Jerome explain it). *Kefr*, or *Kafr*, means a village, and when destroyed it becomes a *Tell*, *i. e.*, a hill or mound of stone and rubbish. The Jews locate at Tell Hum both the tomb of the prophet Nahum and that of Rabbi Tanchum.

† *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 268.

‡ Luke 7 : 18 ; Matt. 8 : 8.

§ Mark 1 : 21 ; Luke 4 : 33, 38 ; John 6 : 59.

KERAZEH is one hour's journey (two miles) north of Tell Hum, and equals it in the extent of ruins. They comprise the remains of a synagogue of black basalt with Corinthian capitals, and dwellinghouses in a tolerably perfect state, the walls being in some cases six feet high. Captain Wilson discovered also traces of a paved road, which connected the place with the great caravan road to Damascus.* If Tell Hum be Capernaum, then Kerâzeh must be the ancient Chorazin. Both the name and the ruins favor this view.

We return to our tent in Khan Minyeh with an overwhelming sense of the contrast between the past and the present, and the fearful guilt of neglecting the day of merciful visitation.

NOTE.—We cannot close this chapter without some additional remarks on the hotly-contested question of the site of Capernaum. We have been strongly impressed on the spot in favor of the identity of Tell Hum with Capernaum, and of Kerâzeh with Chorazin; yet we would hold ourselves open to new light which a more thorough exploration by means of excavations may throw on the problem.†

Biblical archæologists and commentators are almost equally divided between Khan Minyeh and Tell Hum as the two chief claimants to the site of Capernaum.‡ A third theory, which locates

* *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 270.

† The English Palestine Exploration Fund proposes to send out a special expedition to Galilee to determine the site of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.

‡ For Khan Minyeh are Quaresmius (1639), Robinson (1838), Macgregor (reasoning at length from a sailor's standpoint, 1869), Porter (1875), Sepp, and quite recently Lieutenant Kitchener, of the English Exploration Fund, and Dr. Selah Merrill, of the American Exploration Society (1877). Among scholars who never visited Palestine, Keim, in his *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, vol. I., pp. 607, seq., strongly pleads for Khan Minyeh. For

it at 'Ain Mudawarah, or the Round Fountain, near the south end of the Plain of Gennesaret, a mile and a half from the lake, has been given up again by its chief advocate.*

The following are the points to be considered in this controversy:

1. The *Biblical* argument turns chiefly on the question whether the Evangelists locate Capernaum in the plain of Gennesaret, in which case it must have been in the neighborhood of Khan Minyeh, the northern end of that plain, assuming its identity with the present El-Ghuweir. This is nowhere expressly stated, but it is inferred from the fact that Capernaum lay on the seashore (Matt. 4 : 13), and that Jesus, after the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, which occurred in a desert place near the northeastern extremity of the lake, and after the storm on the lake, landed in *Gennesaret* (Matt. 14 : 34; Mark 6 : 53);† while John says more specifically that he came to *Capernaum* (6 : 17, 24, 59). But, on the other hand, it is stated that, before the miracle, the people, starting from Capernaum and other towns, reached the desert place on the opposite shore sooner by land than Jesus and his disciples by sea (Mark 6 : 33), which was quite possible if they came from the nearer Tell Hum, but is difficult to explain if they started from Khan Minyeh, two or three miles farther south. It seems, then, that Jesus, early in the morning after the miracle, arrived at Gennesaret (Matthew and Mark) and then proceeded to his proper home in Capernaum (John), where the returning multitude naturally sought him, and where he explained in the synagogue the spiritual meaning of the miracle of the loaves and fishes. Mark's account (6 : 56) suggests that our Lord passed through several places in Gennesaret on his way to Capernaum.

Tell Hum are Pococke (1737), Burckhardt, Ritter, John Wilson, Thomson, Hepworth Dixon, Renan, Captain Wilson, Stanley (in Preface to *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871), Furrer, Bädeler, and among commentators Ebrard, Ewald, and Plumptre. Alford, Meyer, and Lange are undecided, but lean to Tell Hum.

* Canon Tristram. See his *Bible Places*, new ed. (1875), p. 262.

† The best authorities in Matthew read, "they came to the land unto Gennesaret" (instead of "into the land of Gennesaret"), and in Mark, "passing over to the land, they came to Gennesaret and moored there," *i. e.*, came to anchor.

2. *Josephus*, the Jewish historian of the apostolic age, who was very familiar with Galilee, decidedly favors the Tell Hum theory in the only two places where he alludes specifically to the place. He relates in his *Life* that, having been bruised by a fall from his horse at the mouth of the Jordan, he was first brought to the village "Kepharnome,"* and thence in the same night removed to Taricheæ, at the southern end of the lake. Now it is much more natural to suppose that in his disabled condition he should have stopped at the nearest inhabited place, which was Tell Hum, than in the more distant Khan Minyeh. In his *History of the Jewish War* he speaks of a copious spring of "Kapharnaum" which watered the Plain of Gennesaret and abounded in lake-fish.† This is undoubtedly the 'Ain Tâbighah, near Tell Hum; for it is very copious, abounds in fish, including the coracinus mentioned by Josephus, and is surrounded by tanks and the ruins of an aqueduct through which the water was carried down along the hillside on the shore to the northern head of the plain of Gennesaret.‡ Dr. Robinson (though evidently with some misgiving) sought the spring of Josephus in the Fountain of the Fig-tree ('Ain et Tin) on the shore below Khan Minyeh; but this has no fish and is too small, and lies too low to be made available for irrigating the plain. Tristram formerly sought the spring of Josephus in 'Ain Mudawarah, the Round Fountain, which is very abundant and helps to water the southern part of the plain, but is too far off from the lake.

3. The *Jewish* and *Arab* tradition points invariably to Tell Hum.§

4. The *ecclesiastical* tradition, otherwise so busy in fixing sacred localities, is here vague, uncertain, and contradictory.

5. The *geographical* argument is rather in favor of Khan Minyeh, as being close by the seashore and admirably located for a commercial town and custom-station on the present highroad to Damascus; but this is more than counterbalanced by the *archæo-*

* *Vita*, § 72: εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνώμην λεγουμένην. It is the Greek form of the name.

† *Bell. Jud.*, III. 10, 8.

‡ See Captain Wilson, in *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 271, and Tristram, *Bible Places*, p. 264.

§ See Furrer, art. *Kapernaum* in Schenkel's *Bibel Lexicon*, Vol. III., p. 495, and Thomson, I., p. 546.

logical argument, namely: the absence of ruins in Khan Minyeh and the presence of large ruins at Tell Hum, which has the additional advantage of the identity of name, and was likewise connected by roads with Chorazin and Damascus.

The site of Bethsaida and Chorazin is somewhat dependent on that of Capernaum, but not altogether.

The advocates of Khan Minyeh usually identify Bethsaida with Et-Tâbighah, and Chorazin with Tell Hum. But what becomes, then, of the ruins of Kerâzeh? They cannot be ignored, and form a strong objection to this view. Others locate Bethsaida at Khan Minyeh. If we must distinguish two Bethsaidas, we would rather locate the western Bethsaida at Et-Tâbighah, and Capernaum at Tell Hum.

But the whole assumption of two distinct Bethsaidas in close neighborhood is very questionable. It is much more probable, as already intimated, that they were but parts of one and the same town on both banks of the Jordan near its entrance into the lake, the eastern part in Gaulanitis being called Bethsaida *Julias*, the western part in Galilee being called Bethsaida of *Galilee*.* About the site of the former there is no dispute. Philip the Tetrarch enlarged and beautified it and called it *Julias* in honor of the princess Julia, the daughter of Augustus, about the same time when his brother, Herod the younger, built Tiberias, and named it so after the emperor Tiberius. A few ruins still remain of eastern Bethsaida, where Philip died and was buried in a costly tomb. The Evangelists mean always the western Bethsaida of Galilee, which, as the home of some of the chief apostles, was of far more consequence to them and to the world than the other.

Returning to the woe of our Saviour over these three cities, we suppose that they are mentioned in the order of their guilt, Chorazin being named first and Capernaum last and with the greatest severity. That woe will ever be fulfilled, according to the measure of privilege and guilt, on all those who turn a deaf ear to the teaching of the Son of God; while on the other hand, his words

* John 12:21: "Philip who was of Bethsaida of Galilee;" compare 1:44: "Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter." In all other places it is simply called Bethsaida, as Mark 6:45; 8:22; Luke 9:10. Comp. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II., 31.

of wisdom spoken in those places, wherever they were, will continue to guide the Church in the way of life. His "Peace, be still!" will calm many a storm; his "Lovest thou me?" will search many a heart; and his "Follow thou me!" will be obeyed by many a disciple even to a martyr's death.

"No fable old, no mythic lore,
Nor dream of bards and seers,
No dead fact stranded on the shore
Of the oblivious years;
But warm, sweet, tender even yet
A present help is He;
And faith hath still its Olivet,
And love its Galilee."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CÆSARÆA PHILIPPI.

From Khan Minyeh to Banias—The Waters of Merom—Dan—Cæsaræa Philippi—Beautiful Scenery—The Source of the Jordan—Peter's Confession—The Rock of Ages—The Ruins of the Castle of Shubeibeh.

“When Jesus came into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that the Son of man is? And they said, Some say, John the Baptist: some, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter (Petros), and upon this Rock (Petra) I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.” Matt. 16: 13-18.

FROM Khan Minyeh we travel in two days to Banias, stopping over night at 'Ain Mellâhah, which abounds in fresh water and vegetation. We were unable to visit Safed, which has no Biblical interest, but is one of the four sacred cities of the rabbinical Jews. It was visited by a fearful earthquake, January 1, 1837, which is best described by Dr. Thomson, who visited the scene of destruction a few days after the calamity.*

* *The Land and the Book*, I. 427-432.

We pass over the rough remains of an old Roman caravan road from Egypt to Damascus, take a last look at the shores of the Lake of Galilee, and turn our eyes towards the mountains of Lebanon.

On the second day we come in sight of the WATERS OF MEROM, now called LAKE HULEH, which has been fully explored and described by Rob Roy. It is a triangular sheet of water, about four miles long and three and a half miles broad, the apex being towards the south, where the Jordan issues from it. With the exception of the lake Phiala (Birket er-Râm), which has no outlet or inlet, it is the smallest of the lakes of Palestine, which increase in size from north to south. Near the waters of Merom Joshua utterly defeated King Hazor and his confederate kings, who assembled to attack him with a vast multitude, with horses and chariots.* It was the third and last decisive victory over the heathen Canaanites, and secured Galilee to Israel. Our attention is arrested by a caravan of fifty camels on their way from Damascus to Jerusalem, and by a Bedawin village of black tents, exhibiting the strange life of these wild children of nature.

The second place of interest is DAN and the lower source of the Jordan. Scarcely any ruins mark the place, but it still lives in the Arab name, TELL EL KADY, *i. e.*, the Hill of the Judge.† We rest there an hour under a majestic oak, which has been compared to the venerable

* Josh. 11 : 1-14.

† *Kady* corresponds to the Hebrew *Dan*, and to the former Phœnician name *Laish*. Judg. 18 : 29.

oak of Mamre at Hebron, and listen to the murmur of the famous river as it pours its fresh and abundant waters through jungles of rank vegetation down to the rich plain of Hûleh. Dan is the northern boundary, as Beersheba the southern boundary, of Palestine proper; hence the proverbial expression, "from Dan even to Beersheba," which from the time of the Judges has been in use to this day, both in its literal and figurative sense.*

A delightful ride of an hour over a "park-like verdure, which casts a strangely beautiful interest over this last recess of Palestine," brings us to BANIAS or CÆSARÆA PHILIPPI. This is the best camping station before crossing the Hermon to Damascus. It is the most charming landscape in all Palestine, adorned with tropical vegetation of flowers and trees, and musical with the murmur of rivulets and cascades. It lies at the foot of the monarch of Syrian mountains, which is seated

"On a throne of rocks in a robe of clouds,
With a diadem of snow."

Stanley calls Banias, for its situation, its exuberance of water, its olive groves, and its view over the distant plain, "a Syrian Tivoli." Here is the most picturesque of the three sources of the Jordan. Here that sacred stream gushes forth from the limestone rocks under an overhanging cliff in several streams of clear, sparkling water, to unite four miles below with the source at Dan, and, after passing two lakes and the whole land of Palestine, to find its grave in the Dead Sea—a type of our human life, from the fresh hopes and aspirations of childhood

* Judg. 20:1; 1 Sam. 3:20; 2 Sam. 3:10; 17:11.

and youth, through the bustling scenes, rapids, and windings of manhood, to its termination in the mystery of death, yet with pledges of the forgiveness of sins, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and a resurrection to life everlasting.

Banias blends the memories of many centuries and several religions. It is the northernmost boundary of Palestine, and the dividing line between the land of Israel and the region of the Gentiles. It is probably the same with Baal-Gad, included in Joshua's victories, who "took all the land, even from the Mount of Halak that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-Gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon."* It has its ancient Greek and modern Arabic name from a sanctuary of Pan (Paneion, Paneas), which still survives in a large cave with several votive niches in the rocks. Philip the Tetrarch beautified it with temples, villas, and palaces, and called it "Cæsaræa Philippi" in honor of Cæsar Augustus and in distinction from Cæsaræa on the Mediterranean, where Paul spent two years in prison. Under this Herodian Roman designation it appears in the New Testament, but it was afterwards changed into Cæsaræa Paneas, and back again into Banias.

The chief interest of the place is derived from the visit of our Lord, the confession of Peter, the prophecy concerning the Church, and the scene of transfiguration which took place six days afterwards, probably on Mount Hermon.† It was in view of the fountain of the Jordan

* Josh. 11 : 17 ; comp. 12 : 7 ; 13 : 5.

† See Chap. XXXIII.

and of the immovable rocks of Mount Hermon, it was on this boundary line between the Jews and the Gentiles, that our Lord elicited the fundamental confession of the Christian faith, and announced the building of his Church universal, against which the gates of Hades shall never prevail. His word to Peter is the exegetical rock of the papacy, and has been more frequently quoted by popes, from Leo I. to Leo XIII., than any other passage of the Bible ; but they forget that soon afterwards Christ called him "Satan" for minding "not the things of God but the things of men."* Peter still entertained at that time carnal views of the kingdom of God, as if it were a kingdom of this world. And what is the papacy but a carnal anticipation of the kingdom of glory, when Christ shall rule King of nations as he now rules King of saints in his Church? It is very significant that Mark, who wrote under the inspiration of Peter, omitted the praise, but recorded the censure ; and that Peter himself in his first Epistle, as in prophetic foresight of the abuse of that passage by his would-be successors, warns more earnestly than any other apostle against hierarchical pride and assumption. The eternal divinity of our Lord, as confessed by Peter in the name of the other apostles and of the whole company of the faithful, is the immovable rock of ages on which the Church is built.

The modern Arab village of Banias has about fifty or sixty houses, built in part from old Roman ruins. A rough bridge of antique pillars leads over the Jordan. The Moslem inhabitants have a bad reputation ; two par-

* Matt. 16 : 23.

ties of tourists, one preceding and one following us, were robbed of watches and other valuables.

We must not omit to ascend to the Castle of SHU-BEIBEH on the hill a little more than an hour from the village. It is the most extensive architectural ruin in Palestine, as large as the Castle of Heidelberg, and affords a magnificent view over the town, the hills of Bashan and Galilee, and the upper valley of the Jordan. Its origin and early history are unknown. It seems to combine Phœnician, Roman, and Saracenic architecture. It was taken and retaken during the Crusades. The Arab inscriptions are from the thirteenth century.



DAMASCUS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DAMASCUS.

Approach to Damascus—The Conversion of Paul and his wonderful Character—The Street called Straight—Other Reminiscences—The Beauty and Fertility of Damascus—The Inside of the City—The House of a Jewish Banker—The Slave-Market—The Great Mosque—Mohammedan Fanaticism—The Massacre of 1860 and its Result—Abd el Kader—Protestant Missions in Damascus.

“I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. And this I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw on the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them that journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith that is in me.

Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision : but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of Judæa, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance." Acts 26 : 9-20.

DAMASCUS bursts upon the traveller from the desert like an enchanting vision. It is an Eden of life and beauty surrounded by death and desolation. The white city is a diamond set in the dark green of fruitful gardens. No wonder that the Mohammedans regard it as the earthly reflection of Paradise.

"This region surely is not of the earth;
Was it not dropped from heaven?"

As we approach this remarkable city, the uppermost thought in our mind is the conversion of St. Paul, the greatest man in the history of the Church. For it was near Damascus, as he came from Jerusalem "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," that the event took place which formed a turning-point not only in his own life, but in the history of the world. Here the most dangerous enemy of Christianity was converted into its most powerful promoter ; here the proud rabbi became a humble pupil of Jesus of Nazareth, the zealot for the law a herald of the gospel, the advocate of the letter that killeth a preacher of the life-giving spirit. Laying his learning, his influence, his prospects, his all, at the foot of the cross, he went forth, lonely by land and lonely by sea, without money, without friends, without family, but with the irresistible power of a sublime faith and a holy life, sailing serenely like the

sun above the clouds of trial and persecution, one against the world and for the world, a conqueror of Jews and Gentiles, of Greeks and barbarians, turning them from the service of sin to the service of the living God. "In journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" with "the care of all the churches" resting upon his sympathizing heart; "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus;" satisfied with the all-sufficient grace of God, his "strength being made perfect in weakness," he fought "the good fight," he "finished his course," he "kept the faith," and carried away the unfading "crown of righteousness."* Was there ever a moral hero more pure, more unselfish, more devoted, more useful, more self-consistent, from his conversion in Damascus to his martyrdom in Rome? Next to Christ himself, St. Paul is perhaps the best personal evidence and recommendation of the religion he preached. His character and conduct are fireproof against every assault, while his Epistles reveal one of the profoundest and clearest thinkers that ever lived. The most learned of modern skeptics (Dr. Baur of Tübingen) confessed at the close of his life that he could not account

* 2 Cor. 11 : 26-28; 4 : 8-10; 12 : 9, 10; 2 Tim. 6 : 7, 8.

for the conversion of Paul without the miracle of the resurrection. A most significant concession. Here the rationalistic, the mythical, and the legendary theories utterly fail. The resurrection and personal appearance of Christ are the only rational explanation of such a stubborn fact as the life and work of Paul, and his ever-expanding influence on the history of mankind.

An old tradition locates the conversion of the Jewish rabbi at a distance of about five miles from the city,* at a point where the direct road from Jerusalem crosses the one from Banias and Kefr Hauwar, near an oasis and a fountain, in view of the minarets of the city, the majestic Hermon, and the bare ridge of the Antilebanon.

In the city itself the house of Ananias and the house of Judas are still shown. "The street which is called Straight," where Ananias was to inquire after Saul of Tarsus, still bears that name. The window in the wall is also pointed out through which Paul was let down in a basket.† Considering the many changes which Damascus has undergone, it is of course impossible to rely on these traditions, but there can be no doubt about the general locality.

The memory of Naaman, too, is perpetuated on the

* Dr. J. L. Porter says, ten miles southwest of the city, near a village called Kaukab. I made many inquiries on the spot, but the information was vague and confused. The tradition may not go beyond the time of the Crusades, and has of course no critical value.

† 2 Cor. 11: 32, 33: "In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands."

banks of the Abana in a leper hospital which occupies the site of his house. "I have often visited it," says Dr. Porter,* "and when looking on its miserable inmates all disfigured and mutilated by their loathsome disease, I could not wonder that the heart of the little Jewish captive was moved by her master's sufferings."

Damascus is perhaps the oldest city in the world, and has maintained its proud position as "the head of Syria"† through the horrors of pillage and conflagration under Syrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab, and Turkish despots. It lay within the land of promise, which in its widest sense extended "from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates;" and David subjected it to his sceptre, but only for a short period.‡ It existed already nineteen hundred years before the Christian era, in the days of Abraham, whose trusted friend Eliezer hailed from there.§ Josephus traces its origin to Uz, the son of Aram, and grandson of Shem.

But more remarkable than even its age is the beauty of its situation. Damascus is called by its own poets "The Pearl of the East," and "The Eye of the Desert." It answers the Koran's description of Paradise, as an orchard bearing delicious fruit ever ready to drop into the mouth. The Damascenes believe that the Garden of Eden was located here, and that the clay of which Adam was formed was taken from the banks of the Aba-

* *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 344.

† Isaiah 7:8.

‡ Gen. 15:18 (but comp. Numb. 34:7, 8; Josh. 13:5); 2 Sam. 8:5, 6; 1 Chron. 18:6; 1 Kings 11:24.

§ Gen. 15:2; compare 14:15.

na. Fifteen miles north of Damascus, on a lofty cliff, the reputed tomb of Abel, which measures thirty feet in length, is shown !

The main source of the beauty and fertility of Damascus is the Barada (the Amana or Abana of the Scriptures, the Chrysorrhoas or Gold River of the Greeks), a broad and deep stream which rushes down from the Antilebanon and along the north wall of the city, distributes its blessings through innumerable channels to the gardens and houses, and then hides itself in a desert lake. It is the life of Damascus, as the desert is its fortification. Well might Naaman the Syrian ask the messenger of Elisha, "Are not Abana (or Amana) and Pharpar (A'waj), rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them, and be clean?"* This river of life calls forth a luxuriant vegetation around the city. The eye feasts upon the gardens of olives, walnuts, apricots, pomegranates, poplars, cypresses, and palms, arrayed in a rich variety of colors, the dark green, the purple red, the silvery white.

The best view in the city itself can be obtained from the minaret of the Great Mosque, and a more commanding one from the barren hill Kasiûn. Here Mohammed, then a mere camel-driver from Mecca, stood in amazement at the scene below, and turning away, without entering the city, he said, "Man can have but one paradise, and my paradise is fixed above!" The guide of the prophet exclaimed, "Here let me die!" A mosque called "Kubbet en-Nûsr" is built on this hill in memory of the

* 2 Kings 5 : 12.

visit of Mohammed, and contains the grave of his guide. The English historian, Henry Thomas Buckle, who died in Damascus, May 29, 1862, said, "This is indeed worth all the toil and danger it has cost me to come here." Dean Stanley writes, "There may be other views in the world more beautiful; there can hardly be another at once so beautiful and so instructive."

But the inside of Damascus is anything but a paradise. In this case truly "distance lends enchantment to the view," while "familiarity breeds contempt." The city is a labyrinth of narrow, crooked, ill-paved, dirty streets, where men, camels, donkeys, and dogs are crowding each other and huddled together in inextricable confusion. I saw a new-born donkey in the middle of the street. Caravans come and go from Bagdad and Mecca. Merchants sit and smoke and sip coffee in front of their shops and bazaars. The women, veiled all over, move shyly along like ghosts, wrapped up in a winding-sheet, and walking on two feet encased in yellow shoes. The miscellaneous mass of humanity in all kinds of picturesque costumes is a striking and interesting sight, though it has lost its novelty to one coming from Cairo, which, as a city, is more cosmopolitan, as it is also three or four times larger. The bazaars are famous for their treasures of silk, carpets, saddles, silver and gold ornaments, turbans, slippers, blades, swords, and recall the words of Ezekiel addressed to Tyre: "Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches."* There is but one good hotel in Damas-

* Ezekiel 27 : 18.

cus, once kept by a Greek, Demetri, now by his widow, near the starting-place of the French diligence. It is a thoroughly Oriental house, with a refreshing fountain, flowers, lemon and orange trees in the marble-paved court, and is visited in the evening by venders of curiosities, among whom a patriarchal-looking crafty Mussulman attracted my attention. There are costly houses of rich Moslems and Jews in Damascus, but the outside is very forbidding, and you have to enter into the interior court through a dirty lane, sometimes through a stable.

I was admitted to the house of a wealthy Jewish banker, who takes pleasure in showing his marble-paved court and fountain and his luxuriously-furnished rooms to strangers. When I read and translated the Hebrew inscription on the door, and repeated some passages from the Hebrew Psalter, he and his father and wife were greatly delighted, and showed me every attention; but when, in answer to a question on the Eastern problem, I said that my sympathies were with the oppressed Christians, his countenance fell, and he exclaimed piteously, "And such Christians!" He thought that the Americans ought to help the Jews in regaining Palestine. I replied that their own Rothschild could buy the whole country and not feel it. I learned afterwards that he lent the Turkish government £40,000, but can get no interest, and will never see the principal.

A painfully interesting sight is the slave-market in an old khan; I saw, however, only one Nubian slave-woman, shut up in a dark room and apparently anxious

that we should buy her. Slavery and polygamy are twin children of barbarism, and Mohammedanism has neither the power nor the disposition to abolish them.

Damascus is said to contain 248 mosques and Moslem schools. By far the most interesting is the Great Mosque, one of the four chief sanctuaries of Islam, next to those of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. It was first a temple of Jupiter, then a Christian basilica dedicated to John the Baptist. It is said to contain his head, and also the tomb of Saladin in strange combination. It is a very imposing building, but poorly kept and inferior in beauty to the new Mosque of Mohammed Ali in Cairo. One of its four minarets is called Minaret of Isa (Jesus), and is believed to be the spot from which Christ will judge the world. The Arab historian of Damascus, Ibn Asaker, says, "When Jesus comes to judge the world, he will descend here and assemble in the mosque Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Then the names of the believers will be read from the great book of God, and the Christians and Jews will learn to their amazement that only Moslems are inscribed in the book of life." But the same event is also to take place, according to another Mohammedan tradition, from the temple area in Jerusalem over the valley of Jehoshaphat, where all mankind shall be assembled before Jesus and Mohammed. This tribute to the dignity of Christ is remarkable.

Another curious fact is that on the outside of a wall of the Great Mosque still stands over an ancient arch the inscription in large Greek letters: "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion

endureth throughout all generations.”* The inscription is a standing protest against Mohammedan usurpation and a prophecy of the ultimate destiny of the building. It is, however, not easy of access. We had to reach it over the Silversmith’s Bazaar by means of a ladder, and had to pay extra backsheesh for the trouble.

Damascus is the hotbed of Mohammedan fanaticism. The white-turbaned and long-bearded Moslems mingle curses on the Christian dogs with their prayers to Allah. The burning hatred may break out at any time if not restrained by fear of the consequences. Every Christian here remembers the frightful massacre of July, 1860, when at least 2,500 adult male Christians were murdered in cold blood without provocation. Abd el Kader, the Algerian ex-chief, who still lives here in honorable exile, a vigorous old man of seventy years, and who was visited by some of our party, behaved nobly on that occasion, and with his Moorish retinue saved the lives of many hundreds, while the pasha and the Turkish officials did not move a hand. When his own life was threatened, the hero coolly mounted his horse, drew his sword, and charged into the crowd of furious fanatics, exclaiming, “Wretches! Is this the way you honor the Prophet? May his curses be upon you! Shame upon you, shame! You will yet live to repent. You think you may do as you please with the Christians, but the day of retribution will come. The Franks will yet turn your mosques into churches.” The venerable

* ἡ βασιλεία σου, Χριστέ, βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ ἡ δεσποτία σου ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ. *Psa. 145: 13, Sept.*; the word *Χριστέ* is an interpolation.

Rev. S. Robson, of the Irish Protestant mission, who was here during those days of terror, and is here again filling the place of Mr. Wright, gave me a description of the infernal tragedy.* His colleague, Rev. William Graham, was treacherously murdered while attempting to save another, and Mr. Robson himself was only spared by being in the house of a Mohammedan. The Christian quarter still bears traces of the terrible destruction to which it was then exposed. It is an honor to France that she sent a corps of 10,000 men to Syria in the interest of humanity and Christianity. Since then the admirable road from Beirût to Damascus was built by a French company, and a daily diligence established. Since then a Christian governor was secured for the Lebanon district, to the great advantage of the people. Thus "the wrath of man" was overruled for good.

It seems a hopeless task to plant Protestant Christianity in such a place as Damascus. Nevertheless, the thing has been done, and not altogether without result. Since 1843 the United Presbyterian Church of America and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland have maintained jointly a mission, with a church for converts from Jews and Greek Christians, and with schools. The buildings were burned during the massacre of 1860, but have been substantially rebuilt, chiefly by the munificence of an English lady, Miss Eliza Bromfield. The Protestant community was scattered, but is now larger than before

* See the accounts by Col. Churchill, and in Dr. Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan*, pp. 350 and 361. The lowest estimate there given of the number of adult male Christians massacred in the villages of Damascus, Hermon, and Antilebanon, in June and July, 1860, is six thousand.

the massacre. Worship is conducted twice every Sunday in Arabic, and occasionally also in English for the benefit of travellers. The present missionaries are Mr. Crawford of America, and (temporarily) Mr. Robson of Ireland. Mr. Crawford informed me that the Greeks have been stirred up to greater zeal for education, and buy many New Testaments in the Arabic version of Dr. Van Dyck from the Protestant missionaries. Many of their children and also a few Mohammedans visit their schools.

Besides this Presbyterian mission, there is an Episcopal mission and chapel built by the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, the same which built Christ Church in Jerusalem and several schools in Palestine. I attended the English service (the last in the season), conducted by a converted German Jew. Among the hearers was the eccentric English Lady Ellenborough, who, after trying two or three civilized Christian husbands, married a Bedawin sheikh, with whom she is said to have lived happily for twenty years. She owns a fine house and garden in the city, but in former years she preferred tent-life in the desert.

Adjoining the Episcopal chapel are several fine school-rooms, where boys and girls receive a Christian education. These schools were founded by the late Mrs. Thompson of Beirût, who has done so much good for the rising generation of Syria.

These are small beginnings, but the time is not far distant when, as Abd el Kader prophesied, "the mosques of Damascus will be turned into Christian churches."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BEIRUT.

Beauty, Prosperity, and Prospects of Beirut—Progress since 1860—Influence of American and English Missionaries—The Syrian Protestant College—Presbyterian Missions—British Mission Schools of Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Mott—Scotch Mission School—The Sisters of Kaiserswerth—The Jesuits—Educational Statistics of Beirut and Syria.

BEIRUT is the most—not to say the only—civilized and prosperous city in Syria and Palestine. It is beautifully situated at the foot of the goodly Mount Lebanon, which like an eternal wall protects it on the east, and on the shore of the Mediterranean, which connects it with all parts of the world. The rosy tint of the former and the deep blue of the latter, form a picturesque contrast. The scenery resembles that of Naples and Palermo. The approach from the harbor, or from the mountain over the Damascus road, is grand and imposing. Old Lebanon looks like “an august monarch with a diadem of stars around his snowy turban, with his head in heaven and his feet upon the sea.” The climate is healthy, semi-tropical, and moderated by the sea-breeze. The harbor is the best on the Syrian coast. Fifty years ago the population did not exceed 5,000; now it amounts to 80,000, of whom the majority are Christians, divided into half-a-dozen sects—Orthodox Greeks, Papal Greeks,

Maronites, Armenians, Protestants, etc. Then there was hardly a decent house outside of the walls, and the markets and shops depended for supplies on Sidon; now two-thirds of the people reside in comfortable dwellings and gardens in the charming suburbs, and Sidon is wholly dependent on Beirût. The usual scenes of Oriental beggary, misery, and filth, are not wanting; but there is more energy, enterprise, and thrift here than anywhere between Jerusalem and Damascus, not excluding these cities. No city in Turkey has grown so fast, and nothing can stop her further growth, especially if she should be connected with the projected railroad to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf.

After the frightful massacre of 1860, the Lebanon district was placed under a Christian governor. Since then, various improvements have been introduced. A diligence road was built to Damascus by a French company; carriages came into use; the British and Foreign Water and Gas Works Company was organized, and supplies the town with good water from the Dog river (opened May, 1875). There are several printing-offices (the American Protestant and the Jesuit are the largest), Arabic newspapers, a bookstore, and two photographic establishments. Mr. B. Bistany, a convert of the American Mission, and elder of the church (originally a Maronite), whom I visited in his large and comfortable house, has also a printing establishment, edits two journals, semi-weekly and fortnightly, and has begun the publication of an Arabic Universal Cyclopædia, in sixteen volumes, based in part on Appleton's, with a sub-

scription list of from twelve to thirteen hundred. All this speaks of progress in the stagnant East.

Ruskin calls Tyre, Venice, and England, the three thrones which men have erected, beyond all others, to mark their dominion over the sea. Of Tyre only the memory remains; of Venice, the ruins; England "which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction."* But the day of England's downfall is yet afar off, and Macaulay's New-Zealander, who, from a broken shaft of London Bridge, is to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, is not yet born, and I hope he may never be born. England's mission in the East has only begun.

May not Beirût through English and American influence become a second and a better Tyre? Its history goes far back into antiquity, but its importance lies chiefly in the future. The Berytus of the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, the Saracens and the Turks, will be far outstripped by the Christian Beirût of the next generation. Though not mentioned in the Bible, or mentioned but once,† it is already one of the missionary centres for the revival of Bible Christianity in Bible Lands.

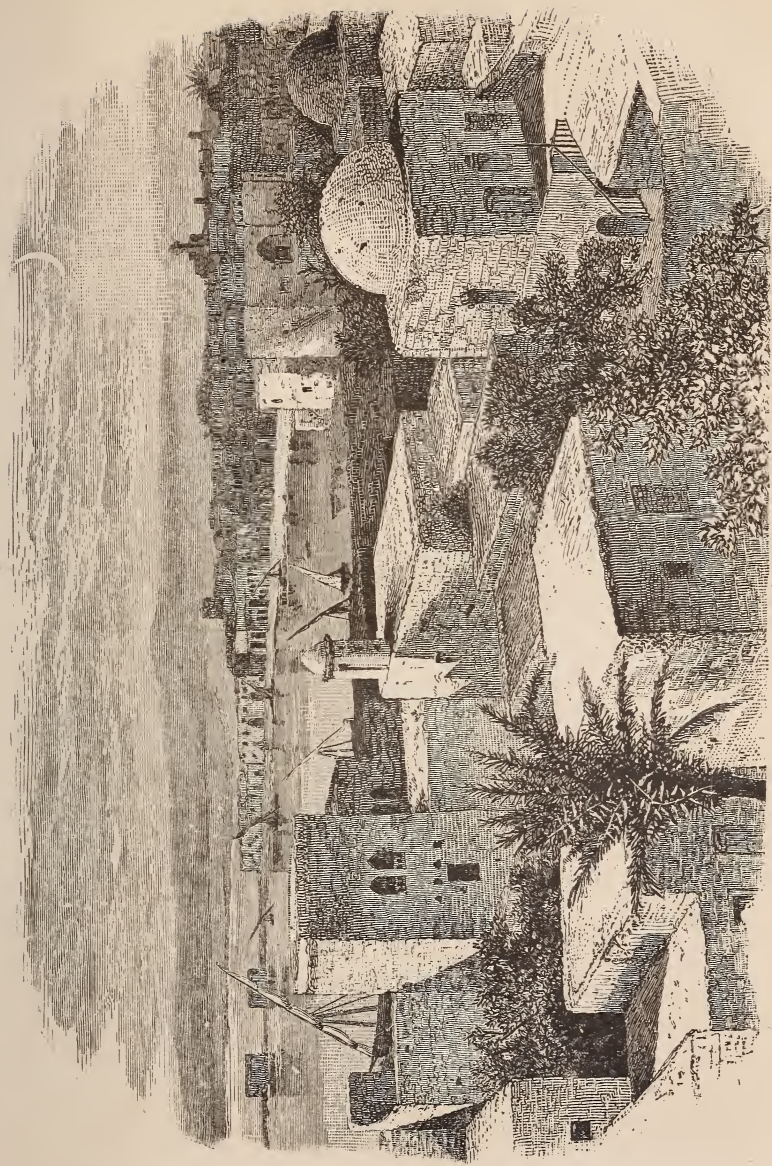
Among the chief instrumentalities for the develop-

* *Stones of Venice*, ch. I.

† Perhaps under the name *Berothai*, 2 Sam. 8:8. After the conquest of Damascus David may have crossed over the Lebanon to her seaport. The identity with *Berothah*, mentioned in Ezek. 47:16, as a northern boundary of the land of Israel, is more doubtful. Some think that *Baal-berith*, Judg. 8:33, was the god Baal of Beirût. Thomson is disposed to derive the name from *beer* or *well*, "the City of Wells." Almost every house in Beirût has a well. On the history of Beirût see Thomson, I., 42, seq.

ment of this city are the benevolent and literary institutions founded by foreign missionary zeal. They have already done not a little towards the commercial growth and secular prosperity of the place, and are destined to do a great deal more.

First among them are the American Protestant institutions under the care of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York. They are manned by a noble band of Christian scholars, mostly graduates of the Union and Princeton Theological Seminaries, who would do honor to any church in any country. I knew them before, and spent most of my time with them while in Beirût. Dr. H. H. Jessup, Dr. Daniel Bliss, Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, Dr. George E. Post, Prof. James S. Dennis, Prof. Edwin R. Lewis, and Prof. Hall are in good health and spirits, and looking hopefully to a great future which is dawning on the East. The venerable Dr. W. M. Thomson has returned to his native America, and is preparing a new edition of his well-known work on "The Land and the Book," with superior illustrations. I heard Dr. Jessup preach an Arabic sermon (which I did not understand) to a large and attentive native congregation, in the beautiful mission church built by his energy and zeal. A new mission chapel, with a native pastor, has just been opened in the eastern part of the city. I examined the adjoining American Female Seminary, and the Printing Press and Bible Depository, which sent forth in 1876 no less than 38,450 volumes (or 13,786,980 pages) of Bibles, tracts, and other books, including a series of text-books and juvenile works.



TYRE.

I visited "the Syrian Protestant College," which is independent of the Mission, but grew out of it, and promotes its interest. It numbers over one hundred pupils of different creeds and nationalities. Proselytism is not attempted, but the Christian spirit and example of the teachers tend to educate liberal Christian gentlemen. The funds were collected in America and England. I was delighted with the substantial buildings, which are located on a prominence in the best part of the city, the west end, and can be seen from afar. The college embraces, besides the literary department, a Medical school, an Observatory, a library, and a museum of natural curiosities. The medical department, under the management of Dr. Post, commends itself to citizens of all classes. Dr. Post, who is an excellent practitioner as well as teacher of the healing art, and a preacher of the gospel, went to Constantinople in the same steamer with us to secure government recognition of the status of the Medical College, and its diplomas. He had the highest recommendations to the Turkish Government from the Governor of the Lebanon, whom he laid under obligation by a successful surgical operation. Just then there was great need of good physicians and surgeons for the army. The Observatory is managed by Dr. Van Dyck, who is an astronomer and physician, as well as an Arabic Bible translator, and sends daily by telegraph meteorological observations to the Observatory of Constantinople.*

* The faculty of this important and hopeful institution consists at present of the following gentlemen, all Americans: Rev. Daniel Bliss,

At the time of my visit the Russo-Turkish war then going on was the chief topic of conversation. The American missionaries took a correct view of the Eastern problem, and expected good results from the war, though they were not without anxiety as to its immediate consequences, which might possibly compel them to suspend their labors for a season. They see that the ultimate mission field in the East are the Mohammedans, and not the old Christian Churches, which ought to help themselves; and that the Mohammedans will not be accessible till the downfall of the political power of the Turks and of the supremacy of the Koran.*

Beirût is the best base of operations for Eastern missions. The entire Syrian Mission of the American Presbyterian Board embraces according to the statistics of 1877, 29 American missionaries (12 men and 17 women), 135 native Syrian laborers, 68 preaching stations, 83 schools, 619 communicants, 3,925 Sabbath-school scholars. The principal stations outside of Beirût are Tripoli, Abeih, Sidon, and Zahleh. I saw Rev. Rev. G. F. Dale and Fred. W. March, graduates of Princeton, who labor

D. D., President, Rev. C. V. Van Dyck, M. D., D. D., Rev. George E. Post, M. D., Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, M. A., Rev. John Wortabet, M. D., Rev. Edwin R. Lewis, M. D., Harvey Porter, B. A., with a corps of native tutors.

* In this connection it may be proper to refer to the testimony of the Earl of Beaconsfield who, in a dinner speech in the London Mansion-House, given to the British Plenipotentiaries at the Berlin Congress, called the American missionaries in the Turkish Empire, "men of the highest principles, of even a sublime character, men who devoted their lives to the benefit of their fellow-creatures, and sought no reward but the approval of their own consciences." A testimony equally favorable was borne to them several years ago by Lord Shaftesbury.

at the last-named place with youthful enthusiasm, and feel greatly encouraged.

Besides these flourishing Presbyterian institutions, the schools of Mrs. Mott, Miss Taylor, and the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth deserve most honorable mention.

Mrs. Mentor Mott, a very wealthy and accomplished English lady, who built and occupies the finest house in all Syria, on an elevated spot in a garden with a magnificent view over the city, the sea, and the mountain, has assumed the care and management of the "British Syrian Schools and Bible Missions," which were founded by the late Mrs. Bowen Thompson in 1860, immediately after the massacre of the Christians in Lebanon and Damascus. She kindly conducted me through these schools. I was especially pleased with the singing of the pupils, and with the reading of the English Scriptures by the blind girls. The number of her schools in Beirût is twelve, and of pupils about 1,500. They are supported by voluntary contributions, and are independent of ecclesiastical control. Mrs. Mott is an Episcopalian, but attends with her teachers and pupils the Presbyterian Mission church of Dr. Jessup.

A Scotch lady, Miss Jessie Taylor, conducts a Boarding and Day School for Moslem girls, which I was unable to visit, but heard well spoken of.

The Prussian Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth conduct a female Boarding-school and Orphanage of about 200 pupils with admirable tact and zeal, and have also the spiritual care of the Hospital of the (Prussian) Order of the Knights of St. John. I was present at their May

festival which was celebrated with characteristic German heartiness. The pupils and orphans represented nearly all the races, sects, and colors of the East, and looked contented and happy. I visited afterwards the school of the Deaconesses at Smyrna and found it likewise a model of cleanliness, order and devotion.

The Jesuits are also very active in Beirût in the interest of the Roman-Catholic church. They have received large reinforcements from Germany since their expulsion from that country. They are just now issuing a new Arabic translation of the Bible, evidently in opposition to Dr. Van Dyck's translation, which is widely circulated in the East. The Jesuit translation is a significant tribute to the value of the Protestant work. I am told that it is made in the high Arabic, while Dr. Van Dyck's is in the middle Arabic, which is more popular and intelligible. No doubt it follows the Latin Vulgate, to which every Roman-Catholic version of the Scriptures must be conformed. It is illustrated by pictures, and is too dear for general circulation: for in the Roman Church the Bible is at best a book for the clergy, but not for the people.

I leave Beirût with a hopeful view of the future. The Presbyterian Board of Missions could not have selected a better spot for its work in the East. Jerusalem, of course, is much nearer and dearer to the heart of Christians, but is a more difficult field, and is already occupied by the Church of England. There is an amicable understanding between the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian missionaries, that the former should labor in

Syria, the latter in Palestine. The supporters of the Palestine missions are largely interested in the conversion and restoration of the Jews, and wish to be near at hand when the millennial kingdom shall be established. There is an abundance of work for both, and they deserve alike the sympathy and support of all Protestant Christians.

To give the reader an idea of the educational mission work carried on in Beirût and neighborhood, we append the statistics kindly furnished to me by Dr. Jessup.

BEIRUT SCHOOLS AT THE CLOSE OF 1877.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Protestant schools, American, English, { German, and native ----- }	30	116	761	2,281	3,042
Orthodox Greek -----	15	33	928	425	1,353
Papal (United) Greek -----	3	11	227		227
Maronite (Roman-Catholic) -----	10	25	820		820
Syriac -----	1	2	80		80
Jewish-----	3	7	125		125
Jesuit -----	14	29	1,024		1,024
Sisters of Charity (Roman-Catholic) ---	4	31		1,110	1,110
Sisters of Nazareth -----	2	18		340	340
Mohammedan -----	11	23	805		805
Total-----	93	295	4,770	4,156	8,926

STATISTICS OF GENERAL PROTESTANT AND EVANGELICAL WORK IN SYRIA AT
THE CLOSE OF 1877.

NAMES OF SOCIETIES.							
	Foreign Laborers.	Native Laborers.	Preaching Stations.	Average Congregat'n.	Communi- cants.	Schools.	Scholars.
American Presbyterian Mission-----	29	135	68	2,838	619	83	3,925
Syrian Protestant College-----	6	7	1	100		4	103
British Syrian Schools-----	7	75				27	2,844
Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews-----	2	9				2	624
Miss Taylor's Moslem Girls' schools-----	1	5	1	40		2	196
Native Protestant School (Eastern quarter)-----		2	1	60		1	60
Lebanon Schools of the Free Church of Scotland-----	3	33	4	130	15	23	1,024
Anglo-American Friends' Society (Quaker)-----	1	15	2	120		12	345
Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (English)-----	2	2				1	63
Mrs. Watson's School-----	1	2	2			1	22
Mr. B. Bistany's National College-----		7				1	40
Mr. Suleeby's School-----		5	1	20		4	110
Prussian Deaconesses-----	14	7	1	250	21	2	203
Irish Presbyterian Mission-----	1	11	6	200	92	10	426
Church of England Mission to the Jews (in Damascus)-----	2	3	1				
Church Missionary Society (in the Hauran)-----	1	4	1				
Reformed Presbyterian Mission (Latakiah)-----	8	8	2	150	50	4	200
Total-----	78	330	39	3,908	794	184	10,585

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FAREWELL TO THE HOLY LAND.

General Impression—The Harmony between the Land and the Book—Recapitulation of What I Saw—Contrast between the Past and the Present—The whole Land a venerable Ruin—Prospects of a better Future—Farewell to Palestine.

“ Those fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which, *eighteen* centuries ago, were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

SHAKESPEARE.

AT last I have fulfilled a long-cherished desire to see with my own eyes and to tread with my own feet the most sacred and the most classical land in the world. My only regret is that I could not visit it twenty or thirty years ago, to make earlier use of the experience for Bible studies.

I have been neither favorably nor unfavorably disappointed. I found the country and the people pretty much as I expected, but I trust I understand both better than before. My faith in the Bible has not been shaken, but confirmed. Many facts and scenes, which seem to float ghost-like in the clouds to a distant reader, assume flesh and blood in the land of their birth. There is a marvellous correspondence between the Land and the Book. The Bible is the best handbook for the Holy

Land, and the Holy Land is the best commentary on the Bible.*

We began our journey with Egypt, the cradle of the people of Israel, and we found it still a "land of bondage" under new masters, a smiling garden and a dreary desert, covered with the colossal ruins of the Pharaohs. We crossed the Red Sea, and got a better idea of the miraculous passage of the Israelites. We followed their course through "the great and terrible wilderness," and learned to appreciate their trials, and the benefits of this long training-school for their manhood. We stood on Mount Sinai, the pulpit of Moses proclaiming the law of God for all ages, and we were indelibly impressed with the adaptation of the awfully sublime scenery to the event which took place there. We sat under the venerable oak of Mamre, where the father of the faithful entertained his celestial visitors, and we approached, not without some danger from Moslem fanaticism, the threshold of the Machpelah which conceals the mortal remains of the patriarchs. We descended to the cave of Bethlehem where the Saviour of the world was born, and we walked over the fields where the shepherds heard the music of angels singing, Glory to God and peace on earth. We spent, with mingled feelings of joy and sadness, the Latin and Greek Easter at Jerusalem, the queen of holy cities, still enthroned on her hills, but a lonely widow, "with dust on her forehead and chains at her feet." We walk-

* "*L'accord frappant des textes et des lieux, la merveilleuse harmonie de l'idéal évangélique avec le paysage qui lui sert de cadre furent pour moi comme une révélation.*" Renan.

ed about Sion, we marked her bulwarks, we considered her palaces, and we found her still "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth" on account of the wonderful things said and done and suffered there for the benefit of mankind. We wept in Gethsemane, where Jesus, overwhelmed with the load of the sins of the world, was "exceeding sorrowful, even unto death;" and we rejoiced on Mount Olivet, where he ascended to his throne of ever-present and all-sufficient grace. We wandered through the ruins of Bethany, where Lazarus and the sisters entertained their divine Lord and witnessed his power over death and the grave. We looked from the heights of Neby Samwîl over the battlefield of Gibeon and Beth-horon, the Plain of Sharon, and the orange-groves of Jaffa. We floated on the salt waters of the Dead Sea, in full view of the mountains of Moab, where Jehovah "kissed Moses to death," after showing him the beauties of the Land of Promise. We took a refreshing bath in the swift-flowing waters of the Jordan at the traditional site of the baptism of Christ. We spent a night at Jericho, and barely escaped "falling among robbers." We rested on a stony bed at Bethel, dreaming the dream of Jacob, and seeing the shining staircase of prayer and faith that leads even from the humblest spot on earth to the throne of grace. We saw the ruins of Shiloh, which once sheltered the Ark of the Covenant. We sat on Jacob's Well, where our Lord, weary of travel, but not of his work, offered to a poor woman the water of life, which has since quenched the thirst of innumerable souls. We ascended the ruins of the temple on Mount Gerizim,

where the paschal sacrifice is still offered from year to year, according to the letter of the Mosaic law, by the small remnant of the Samaritan sect. We rode over the fruitful fields and hills of Samaria through which Jesus passed on his annual visits to Jerusalem, scattering flowers of holy thoughts and deeds on the way. Our eyes feasted on the Plain of Esdraelon, so often reddened with blood, and spread out like a green carpet of waving grainfields. We drank from the Fountain of Gideon, and heard his battle-cry ringing through the air, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon." We lamented, in view of Mount Gilboa, with David the death of Jonathan, whose love to him was "wonderful, passing the love of women." We lunched at Nain, where our Lord comforted a widow by raising her only son from the dead. We spent a memorable Sabbath in Nazareth, where the Saviour of the world lived thirty years in quiet waiting and preparation for his work, misunderstood by his own townsmen and kindred. We ascended the lovely Tabor, and the lofty Hermon, where Christ revealed his glory to Moses and Elijah and his beloved disciples. We rode on the lonely banks and sailed on the blue waters of the Lake of Gennesaret, so beautiful even in its desolation, so hallowed by the footsteps of the Master,

"Most human and yet most divine,
The flower of man and God."

We made our way through thistles and briars to the ruins of Tell Hum, and saw the broken columns of the synagogue once resounding with words that will never die. We camped at Cæsaræa Philippi, and confessed with Pe-

ter, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

Palestine is a library of revelation engraved on stones. The mountains and hills, the lakes and rivers, the caves and rocks are alive with Biblical stories. The meanest spot records some deep thought or noble deed that inspires the best of men to this day. It is still the old Canaan,

"In all the imploring beauty of decay."

But in no country is the contrast between the glorious past and the miserable present so startling and sad. Take away the ideal element, and the charm is gone. The whole land is a venerable ruin. It is hardly worth visiting except for its reminiscences. Yet even in these ruins it confirms the truth of prophecy. "I beheld, and lo, the fruitful place was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the Lord, and by his fierce anger. For thus hath the Lord said, The whole land shall be desolate; yet will I not make a full end."* "Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers. . . . until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field."†

When shall the Lord "bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents, and have mercy on his dwelling-places"? When will the holy city again be "builded upon her own heap"? When will "the voice of joy, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride" again be heard in her palaces, singing, "Praise

* Jer. 4 : 26, 27.

† Isaiah 32 : 13, 15.

the Lord of hosts ; for the Lord is good and his mercy endureth for ever" ? When shall "the wilderness and the solitary place be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as a rose" ? When shall "waters break out in the wilderness and streams in the desert" ? When will "the ransomed of the Lord return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads" ?

"The mills of God grind slowly, but surely and wonderfully fine." *Deus habet suas horas et moras*. But a thousand years for him are as one day. And his promise can never fail.

Palestine needs for its regeneration a good government, an industrious population, capital, and a better religion, even the religion of the Bible, which sprung from its own soil and is now almost unknown. The Turkish government does not even fulfil the first duty of all government—the protection of life and property. It is no government at all, but a system of heartless oppression and incurable corruption. There is no justice and honesty in officials, no encouragement to till the soil, to build houses, to construct roads, to carry on commerce, to establish manufactories. The country is systematically impoverished, the people drained of its best men by conscription, kept in utter ignorance, and ground down by taxation till every vestige of manhood and every hope of improvement are crushed out of them.

But nature cannot be destroyed. The plains of Philistia, of Sharon, of Esdraelon, of Gennesaret, and the Hauran, though overgrown with weeds and overrun by the wild Bedawin, are still there as fertile as ever. The

lakes and the rivers and the fountains are there as abundant as ever. The hills and mountains, though denuded of forests, are there as lofty as ever. The same abundance of flowers adorns the earth in spring as when the Saviour drew lessons from the lilies of the field. And what the indolent Turks will never do, the industry and zeal of foreigners will do, and make Palestine once more a land of promise "flowing with milk and honey," where every man may "sit under his own vine and fig-tree."

The process of regeneration has already begun. We see the small but hopeful tokens of a better future in the carriage-road from Jaffa to Jerusalem (the only one so far in Palestine), in the orange and olive groves of recent planting, in the German colonies of Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem, in the fine houses, gardens, churches, schools, and orphanages which the missionary zeal of foreign Protestants has established in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Nor ought we to overlook the significant fact of the increasing immigration of the Jews, which was stimulated by the liberal benefactions of Rothschild and Montefiore, and will be still more encouraged by the *coup d'état* of one of their own blood who sits at the helm of Queen Victoria's government. The Turkish misrule is approaching its downfall, and will give way to a new order of things. The old ruins need not be swept away by the tide of civilization, but should be carefully kept and restored, like the English and Scotch abbeys and cathedrals which perpetuate the memory of the venerable past amid the fresh life of the present.

With these hopes of a brighter future we bid fare-

well to the Holy Land, and board the Austrian steamer in the beautiful harbor of Beirût on our homeward course to Europe and America.

"Thou land of Judæa! thrice hallowed of song,
Where the holiest of memories pilgrim-like throng;
In the shade of thy palms, by the shores of thy sea,
On the hills of thy beauty, my heart is with thee.

"With the eye of a spirit I look on that shore,
Where pilgrim and prophet have lingered before;
With the glide of a spirit I traverse the sod
Made bright by the steps of the angels of God.

"I tread where the Twelve in their wayfaring trod;
I stand where they stood with the CHOSEN OF GOD,
Where his blessing was heard and his lessons were taught,
Where the blind was restored and the healing was wrought.

"Oh, here with his flock the sad Wanderer came;
These hills he toiled over in grief are the same;
The founts where he drank by the wayside still flow,
And the same airs are blowing which breathed on his brow!

* * * * *

'But wherefore this dream of the earthly abode
Of Humanity clothed in the brightness of God?
Were my spirit but turned from the outward and dim,
It would gaze, even now, on the presence of Him!

"Beloved of the Father, thy Spirit is near
To the meek and the lowly and penitent here;
And the voice of thy love is the same even now
As at Bethany's tomb or on Olivet's brow.

"Oh, the outward hath gone! but in glory and power
The spirit surviveth the things of an hour;
Unchanged, undecaying, its Pentecost flame
On the heart's secret altar is burning the same!"

WHITTIER.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REGENERATION OF THE EAST.

The East a Vast Mission-field for the West—A Mystery of Providence—The Rise and Fall of Mohammedanism—The Crusades—Moral Regeneration of Bible Lands—Missionary Churches and Schools—The Labors of the American Board in Turkey—The Bible-House, Female Seminary, and Robert College in Constantinople—The Christianization of Moslems—The Berlin Congress and Anglo-Turkish Convention—Prospects of the Future.

THE lands of the Bible are a vast mission-field, which must be conquered with spiritual weapons for Christ and Christian civilization by the Western nations, in discharge of a debt of gratitude for the blessings received from them. Providence has prepared the way for this moral regeneration by a series of political changes, as the first introduction of Christianity was preceded by Greek letters, the conquests of Alexander, and the laws of the Roman Empire. Once Europe called upon Asia, "Come over and help us!" Now the same cry comes from Asia and Africa to Europe and America.

It is one of the great mysteries of Providence that the fairest portions of the earth, the native lands of classical literature and the Christian religion, should have fallen under the ruinous sway of a semi-barbarous race.

Mohammed must have been far more than an ignorant camel-driver and common impostor, to become the ruler of a hundred and sixty millions of consciences, and to supplant the cross by the crescent in Africa, Asia, and even a large part of Europe. He had the providential mission to destroy the gross idolatry of heathen nations, and to punish the refined idolatry of Christian churches which had practically forgotten the first and second commandments. The fundamental truth that God alone is great and worthy of the worship of his creatures, underlies the fanaticism of the Moslems, and was the moral factor of their success. This intensely earnest monotheism, combined with fatalism, sensualism, and fearless bravery, was confronted with a Church weakened by unfruitful disputes and torn by internal dissensions. The Turk would never have struck his tent in Europe but for the hierarchical rivalry between the Pope of Rome—who would rather see the progress of Islam than the triumph of the Greek schism—and the Patriarch of Constantinople, who cared more for the metaphysical procession than the practical work of the Holy Spirit, and abhorred the Latin *Filioque* as the worst of heresies and an unpardonable sin. This unhappy quarrel turned the mediæval Crusades into a magnificent failure, a waste of blood and treasure, of bravery and chivalry, of devotion and enthusiasm. The Crusaders sought Christ on earth and among the dead, and, imitating their enemies, endeavored to accomplish by the sword what can be accomplished only by the spirit.

If the East is to be regenerated and the Mohamme-

dans are to be converted, it must be done, as in the beginning, by the might of truth, by doctrine and example, by a republication of the gospel of Christ. This process is slow but sure.

“For truth is truth, since God is God,
And truth the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.”

It is a remarkable fact that the first impulse to this spiritual and bloodless crusade of faithful preaching and holy living came from the farthest West which has no political interest in the East. The pioneers of moral reform in the Turkish Empire are a noble band of American scholars and missionaries, of whom the Earl of Shaftesbury said in 1860: “I do not believe that in the whole history of missions—I do not believe that in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of any negotiation carried on between man and man—we can find anything to equal the wisdom, the soundness, and the pure evangelical truth of the men who constitute the American mission. I have said it twenty times before, and I will say it again—for the expression appropriately conveys my meaning—that they are a marvellous combination of common sense and piety.”

The MISSIONARY work in the East began very nearly fifty years ago among the old Oriental sects of the Armenians, Nestorians, and Copts, which have been providentially preserved in a petrified state through trials and persecutions of centuries. From them it gradually extended to the Orthodox Greeks, the United or Papal

Greeks, the Maronites (who are Papists but with a married priesthood and a Syriac liturgy), and the Bulgarians (who occupy an independent position between the Greek and Roman Churches). The Latin Catholics are least accessible, because they have more vitality and western support, and are closely watched by the Franciscans and Jesuits, who display their usual zeal in all the holy places and wherever there is an opening for them.

The mission work is amicably divided (since 1843) among three leading Protestant denominations, differing in church polity, but agreed in the same faith. The Presbyterians labor in Egypt, Syria, and Persia, among Copts, Armenians, Greeks, Maronites, and Nestorians; the Church of England, in Palestine, among Jews and Greeks; the Congregationalists, in Turkey proper, among Armenians, Bulgarians, and—as far as possible—also among Turks. Besides these Anglo-American missions, the cause of evangelical Christianity is promoted by the Chrischona Brethren of Basle, the “Jerusalems-Verein” of Berlin, and the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, who administer comfort to the sick of all nationalities and creeds, and devote special attention to the training of orphans.

At first the object of the American missionaries was to reform the native churches from within on their own historic basis, beginning with the priesthood. But experience forced them to change their policy. The hostility of the priesthood expelled the converts, as the Jewish synagogue had expelled the apostles, and the Romish hierarchy the reformers. Nevertheless the Protestant

missions have indirectly benefited those old churches by stimulating them to greater zeal for education and religion. The flourishing schools of the venerable Dr. and Mrs. Hill in Athens (American Episcopalians), which are still conducted on the conservative principle of non-interference with the Greek Church, are working as a wholesome leaven within that Church. But no Protestant churches could be organized on this principle *within* another church of a different creed and discipline. Since the separation, the number of Protestant congregations of native converts and their offspring has been steadily on the increase.

Of equal, and even of greater importance, are the missionary schools and seminaries of learning which train up a new generation, and are accessible to all nationalities and creeds. Of course, no direct attempt at conversion can be made in these schools, but it is hoped that the good principles and example of the teachers will tell upon the life of the pupils.

We have spoken of the Presbyterian and Episcopal missions in former chapters, but must add a few words on the equally important and equally flourishing missions of the American CONGREGATIONALISTS, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in Boston. They have achieved great success among the Armenians—the Yankees of the East—who are specially adapted to a simple, intelligent, enterprising, self-supporting, and self-governing type of evangelical Protestantism, similar to that of New England. The centre of the Congregational missions is Constanti-

nople, as Beirût and Cairo are the centres of the Presbyterian, and Jerusalem is the centre of the Episcopal missions. From that centre the operations extend westward in European Turkey, and eastward in Asia Minor. There is scarcely an important town in Turkey without a Protestant community, which exerts a healthful influence upon the surroundings. The American Board has spent from the start till 1878 about five million dollars on the mission work in Turkey. It has sent out and commissioned in all 384 American ordained and native missionaries; 116 are now in the field, including 28 women devoted to the elevation of their own sex. The number of organized churches is 86, of preaching stations 275, with an average attendance on the Sabbath of 25,000; the communicant membership amounts to over 5,000. The most prominent among the missionaries who have been trained in Andover, Yale, Union, and other American seminaries, and labored or are still laboring in Turkey, are Goodell, Hamlin, Schaufler, Schneider, Dwight, Riggs, the brothers Bliss, Wood, Powers, Pratt, Wheeler, Washburn, Trowbridge, and others. The missionaries preach, teach, translate the Bible into the popular tongues of the East, and issue newspapers and illustrated monthlies for children and adults, in the Armenian, the Armeno-Turkish, Græco-Turkish, and Bulgarian languages. The Bulgarian newspaper has more subscribers (3,000) than any newspaper in Constantinople.

Besides these church missions, we must mention the educational institutions, which are independent of the Board, but have grown out of its labors, and afford the

greatest indirect help to the mission. Most prominent among them are three noble institutions in Constantinople: the Bible-House in Stamboul, the Female Seminary in Scutari, and Robert College in Bebek on the Bosphorus. What strikes the visitor at once is the admirable selection of location, in which the Congregationalists have shown as much tact and taste as the Presbyterians in Beirût, and the Anglicans on Mount Sion. A prominent and convenient location is a perennial attraction and the best advertisement. A battery in a good position may do great execution, while in a bad position it will only waste ammunition. This the Jesuits and Roman Catholics know well, and they act accordingly wherever they advance and take a prominent foothold.

The BIBLE-HOUSE is located in the busiest portion of Stamboul, not far from the lower bridge over the Golden Horn, and is a substantial and convenient building, from which are issued Bibles, religious tracts, and religious and educational works in all the languages used in Turkey. It forms the headquarters of the missionaries and their friends. I attended a very solemn communion service held in an upper room at the anniversary meeting of the Bulgarian missionaries, who are doing a noble work among that interesting people. Several ministers from America and Ireland were present, and made brief addresses.

The FEMALE SEMINARY, under the direction of Mrs. Williams, lies on a commanding height above the Armenian church in Scutari, and affords a thorough Christian education for a reasonable price.

ROBERT COLLEGE, so called after its generous founder in New York, stands on a commanding height at Bebek, about an hour from Constantinople, with a magnificent view over the European and Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus. It was a master-stroke of policy to select this spot, and it required all the shrewdness, ingenuity, energy, and perseverance of Dr. Hamlin, its first President, and the backing of Admiral Farragut with the American fleet, to secure it. The house, built under Dr. Hamlin's direction, is fire-proof, and admirably adapted for its use. It can accommodate about 250 pupils. The Board of Instruction embraces fifteen teachers, chiefly Americans. Dr. George Washburn is the Director, Dr. Albert L. Long (formerly a Methodist missionary in Bulgaria), Professor of Natural Sciences. Besides the usual branches of a college course, no less than eight languages are taught—English, Latin, Armenian, Bulgarian, French, German, Greek, and Turkish. The number of students which formerly reached 220, has diminished, in consequence of the war and the hard times, to 115, but will no doubt soon rise again. They come from all parts of Turkey, and represent all its nationalities and religions. Care is taken to avoid sectarian teaching, but the Bible is read every morning, and explained every Sunday. It was my privilege, with Bishop Marvin of the Southern Methodist Church, to address the students after the religious exercises, and I scarcely ever heard more hearty responses to what was said about the importance of a good Christian education. Robert College is worthy of all confidence. It affords the best English education

that can be obtained in Turkey, and is destined to exert a growing influence on the future destinies of that empire. It will, no doubt, gradually expand into a complete Bosphorus University.

Great as the result of the mission work in Turkey has been, considering the difficulties, discouragements, and persecutions, it is but the beginning of a much greater work of the future. The Protestant congregations of converts from older Christian churches and sects are the entering wedge for the CONVERSION OF THE MOHAMMEDANS who are the true ultimate mission field of the East.

It is not probable that the Moslems will ever become Greek or Roman Catholic, whom they abhor as semi-idolaters on account of their Mariolatry, saint-worship, and image-worship, and whom they have kept in a state of degrading servitude for so many centuries. The Oriental sects are out of the question, for they have no vitality, no missionary zeal. But there is a strong probability that a large number of Moslems will embrace the Protestant faith, with such modifications, of course, as are inevitable from the radical difference of nationality and deep-seated habits. Protestantism exhibits to them a new and more congenial type of Christianity, a simpler and more spiritual mode of worship, and a higher education than either the Greek or Latin Church; and it approaches them from England and America in the distant west without the hateful traditions of bloody wars and crusades. It is an encouraging and significant sign that

the Protestant missionaries and schools are highly esteemed by them, and to some extent even patronized for their secular advantages, and that the sale of Arabic and Turkish Bibles is steadily increasing among them.

If once brought under the humanizing and sanctifying power of the pure gospel the Moslems may become as good Christians as most other nations. The Arabs and Turks—different in race but united in religion—are now ignorant, fanatical, sensual, polygamous, and ferocious semi-barbarians, but not without the redeeming qualities of bravery, simplicity, temperance, truthfulness, courtesy, and hospitality, to which may be added a singular kindness to their favorite animals—the horse, the camel, and the dove. Their noble physique is worthy to be the tent of a noble spirit. Conversion to Christianity would emancipate them from their vices and strengthen their virtues by associating them with the higher Christian graces.

Heretofore no Mohammedan has been allowed to change his religion without incurring the death penalty, which the Koran enjoins upon all apostates. The liberty granted to foreign missionaries was only liberty to proselyte among their fellow-Christians, on the principle *divide et impera*, but not from any conception of the liberty of conscience as an inherent right of man for which he is responsible to God alone. The *Hatti Humayoun* (Imperial Edict, also called *Hatti Sherîf* or Sacred Edict) which was wrested from the Sultan by his Christian allies after the Crimean war in 1856, abolished the death penalty, but was a dead letter, at least outside of Con-

stantinople. A few dozen Turks were secretly baptized, but an open profession of Christianity brought on persecution and exile. Real liberty of conscience and open access to the faith of the Moslems can only be secured by such a humiliation of the Turkish power as will subject it completely to the mercy of Christian Europe, and break down the supremacy of the Koran.

This has been done by recent events, and will ultimately prove the greatest blessing to the Arabs and Turks themselves. For nothing does a proud nation, as a proud individual, so much good as a thorough humiliation, which compels it to reflect, to repent, and to reform. Russia, under the sense of a providential mission, as well as with a natural desire for more territory on the Danube and the Black Sea, undertook to punish the "unspeakable" Turk for his late shocking atrocities against Christian men, women and children, and the accumulated guilt of centuries, and victoriously approached the very gates of Constantinople, when England, always jealous of the progress of Russia, and afraid of her supposed designs upon British India, interposed with her powerful navy, and threatened war for the protection of the Sultan, or rather for British interests. But counsels of moderation fortunately prevailed, and a Congress of statesmen finished in peace the bloody work of war, and saved the contending nations a waste of millions of treasure and armies of men.

The BERLIN CONGRESS of July, 1878, marks an important epoch in the affairs of Turkey. Its international treaty is the greatest triumph of modern diplomacy and

perhaps the best settlement of the intricate Eastern problem which the political wisdom of Europe, under the presiding genius of Prince Bismarck, could make at this time. It is a vast improvement on the Paris Treaty of 1856 and the London Treaty of 1871. We may regret the division of Bulgaria and the neglect of the claims of Greece to the adjoining Hellenic provinces and the island of Crete. We may regret that the Congress did not make clean work of European Turkey, and place the whole of it under native Christian self-government, or divide it among the adjoining European powers. European Turkey had been fairly conquered by Russia, and the Turk had long lost all claim over territories which he ruled only to ruin. It is a just retribution of history that he who conquers by the sword shall in turn be conquered by the sword. But, considering the complication of interests and the jealousies of governments, which, though Christian in name, are all selfish in fact, and unfortunately controlled by their pockets, rather than their conscience, we must overlook minor defects in view of the great substantial gain.

The principle of religious liberty achieved a remarkable triumph in the Berlin Treaty. It is expressly secured to the several newly-organized provinces, and especially also to the subjects of the remaining dominions of the Sultan, in Article 62, which reads as follows :

“ The Sublime Porte, having expressed the wish to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and give it the widest scope, the contracting parties take note of this spontaneous declaration. In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall differences of religion be alleged

against an individual as a ground for exclusion or incapacity as regards the discharge of civil and political rights, admission to the public service, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the different professions and industries. All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to give evidence before the tribunals. Liberty and the outward exercise of all forms of worship are assured to all, and no hindrance shall be offered, either to the hierarchical organization of the various communions, or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs. Ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities travelling in Turkey in Europe or Turkey in Asia shall enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges. The right of official protection by the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers in Turkey is recognized both as regards the above-mentioned persons, and their religious, charitable, and other establishments in the holy places and elsewhere. The rights possessed by France are expressly reserved, and it is well understood that no alterations shall be made in the *status quo* in the holy places. The monks of Mount Athos, of whatever country they may be natives, shall be maintained in their former possessions and advantages, and shall enjoy, without an exception, complete equality of rights and prerogatives."

This is all that the American missionaries and the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance have petitioned for, and all that Christian missionaries of any sect can reasonably desire. Liberty is substituted for mere toleration, and liberty is solemnly guaranteed by treaty. It is true the individual right to change one's religion with impunity, and the right of missionary propaganda by peaceful moral agencies (without which Christianity itself would never have made much progress), is not mentioned, but it seems to be implied in "the principle of religious liberty in the *widest scope*." Yet here is just the point where great wisdom and caution will be necessary for some time, until a change in public senti-

ment will force the Turkish authorities to give the phrase this liberal construction.

The ANGLO-TURKISH TREATY, though no work of the Berlin Congress, but a secret side-stroke of policy in the interest of England as a protection against Russia, is the most important part of the recent settlement as regards Asiatic Turkey, which is thereby placed under the protectorate of England, with the island of Cyprus (the home of Barnabas and of Sergius Paulus, the first Christian ruler), as a base of operations. I would rather see the Czar on the throne of Constantinople than the Sultan, for he represents a progressive and civilizing power whose superiority is well typified by the contrast between young Petersburg, risen from the swamp in a forbidding climate to the position of one of the finest capitals of Europe, and old Constantinople mouldering on the smiling shores of the Bosphorus between two continents and two seas. Alexander II. must be counted among the best of Russian sovereigns, and, as the emancipator of twenty-three millions of serfs and protector of the Greek Church, he would have brought liberty at least to the vast majority of Christians in Turkey.* But I greatly prefer the constitutional sceptre of England to the despotic government of Russia, which tolerates or persecutes Ro-

* I may remark here incidentally that Prince Gortchakoff emphatically assured the international deputation of the Evangelical Alliance at Friedrichshafen, in 1871, and authorized the spokesman of the deputation to publish it to the world, that his "august master and himself are cordially in favor of religious liberty, and will do all in their power to promote it as far as practicable in Russian dominions." See the Report of the American Alliance Deputation to Russia, New York, 1871.

man Catholics and Protestants as the interests of the State and of the Greek Church may seem to require. England is everywhere, at home and abroad, the friend and protector of civil and religious liberty, as well as material progress, and allows fair play to missionary activities, without distinction of sect. She has moreover shown a wonderful skill and success in planting colonies and ruling heathen and Mohammedan races. Her rule in India, no matter how acquired, has been a blessing to the Hindoos, giving them peace and prosperity, and without interfering with their religion, has opened the way for the orderly introduction of Christianity. Her motives in concluding the secret convention with Turkey may have been purely selfish; but it is an undoubted fact that the interests of England are identical with the interests of constitutional freedom and an enlightened civilization. Wherever the British flag waves, there is security of life and property and the rights of men, there is freedom of speech and of the press, there is vigorous and honest administration of justice, there is commercial prosperity, there is the literature of Shakespeare and Milton, there we find an open Bible and a free pulpit, the purity and dignity of woman, and the blessings of a Christian home.

Viewed from this point of view, the English protectorate of Turkey, which may result sooner or later in annexation, promises to be in the end as great a benefit to the Turks and Arabs as England's reign in India has been to the Hindoos. She has indeed assumed an enormous responsibility and a most difficult task. It will tax all her

capital and energy to lift Turkey out of the chaotic confusion and bankruptcy in which she is left after an exhaustive war. But she is better fitted for the task than any other government on earth, and she will have the hearty sympathy and coöperation of all true friends of those classic lands now fearfully prostrated, but destined to see a day of resurrection to new life.

It may be doubted indeed whether the Turk can be truly reformed without ceasing to be a Mohammedan. In the transforming process he must become either an infidel or a Christian. We hope and pray that before long he will transfer his allegiance from the false prophet of Mecca to the true Prophet of Nazareth.

MEANING OF ARABIC WORDS.

<i>Abu</i>	Father.
' <i>Ain</i> (Hebrew <i>En</i>), plural ' <i>Ayûn</i> ----	Fountain.
<i>Allah</i>	God.
<i>Amerikani, Amelikani</i>	American.
' <i>Arabi</i>	Arabic.
<i>Bâb</i>	Door, gate.
<i>Bûdiye</i>	Desert.
<i>Bahr</i>	Sea.
<i>Bakshîsh</i>	Gift, present.
<i>Bedâwy</i> (or <i>Bedouin</i>), pl. <i>Bedawin</i> ---	Dweller in the Desert.
<i>Beit</i> (Hebrew <i>Beth</i>)	House.
<i>Bint</i> , pl. <i>benâth</i>	Daughter.
<i>Bir</i>	Well.
<i>Deir</i>	Convent.
<i>Emir</i>	Prince.
<i>Fransâwi</i>	French (European).
<i>Humar</i> , pl. <i>hamâr</i>	Ass.
<i>Ibrahim</i>	Abraham.
<i>Ibu</i> , pl. <i>beni</i>	Son.
<i>Inglizi</i>	English.
<i>Isâ</i>	Jesus.
<i>Islâm</i>	{ Submission (the Mohammedan re- ligion).
<i>Jebel</i> , pl. <i>jibâl</i>	Mountain.
<i>Jemel</i> , pl. <i>jimâl</i>	Camel.
<i>Jîsr</i>	Bridge.
<i>Kady</i> (Hebrew <i>Dan</i>)	Judge.
<i>Kawwâs</i>	Consul's servant (gensdarme).
<i>Kefr</i>	Village.

<i>Khan</i>	Inn.
<i>Khowaja</i> (lit. "the respected")	{ Gentleman (European or American traveller).
<i>Kul'at</i> , or <i>Kul'ah</i> , or <i>Kasr</i>	
	Castle.
<i>Lâ ilâha ill' Allâh, wa Muhamme-</i> }	{ There is no god but God, and Mo-
<i>du-rrasûl-Allâh</i>	
	ammed is the prophet of God.
<i>Ma</i> (vulgar <i>moi</i>)	Water.
<i>Mâr</i> (Syrian)	Christian saint.
<i>Maryam</i>	Mary.
<i>Masr</i>	Egypt.
<i>Meri</i>	Plain, meadow.
<i>Moskôwi</i>	Russian.
<i>Mueddin</i>	Caller to prayer.
<i>Mukâri</i> (<i>Mukr</i>)	Muleteer.
<i>Mursal</i>	Missionary.
<i>Mûsa</i>	Moses.
<i>Muslim</i> , or <i>Moslem</i>	Mohammedan.
<i>Mussulman</i> , pl. <i>Mussulmans</i>	do.
<i>Nahr</i>	River.
<i>Neby</i>	Prophet.
<i>Nukb</i>	Pass.
<i>Nusrâni</i> (Nazarene), pl. <i>Nasâra</i>	Christian.
<i>Râs</i>	Head, cape.
<i>Rasûl</i> (applied to Mohammed)	Prophet.
<i>Sheikh</i> , pl. <i>Shuyûkh</i>	Chief, elder.
<i>Shâla</i>	Turban.
<i>Suleimân</i>	Solomon.
<i>Tarbush</i>	Fez, cap.
<i>Tell</i> , pl. <i>Tulûl</i>	Hill, mound.
<i>Tur</i>	Mountain.
<i>Turki</i>	Turkish.
<i>Umm</i>	Mother.
<i>Wady</i>	Valley, watercourse.
<i>Wely</i>	Tomb of a Mohammedan saint.
<i>Yehûdi</i>	Jew.
<i>Yûsef</i>	Joseph.

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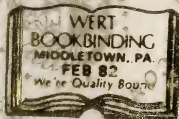
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